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## NOVEMBER MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P.M. Mr. NORCROSS was chosen to preside.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Henry Besson Thomas, of South Orange, New Jersey, several papers of the Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw family, 1723-1850.

From Rev. Daniel Munro Wilson, of Dover, Mass., a Bible, London, 1601, containing the Hovey family record.

From Henry R. Dalton, letters received by Charles Henry Dalton, from his brothers in the army, from January 31, 1859, to May 28, 1866.

By purchase, a volume of notes of sermons, preached at Cambridge, May 10 to May 31, 1719, and at Northampton, mostly by Rev. Solomon Stoddard, September 20, 1719, to May, 1720.

By purchase, a deed and duplicate, on parchment, by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Dr. Thomas Ruston, of Philadelphia, August 26, 1794, of lands in Townships 4, 5, and 6, now respectively in the towns of Steuben, Harrington, and Addison, of Washington County, Maine, with plans of the townships by Lothrop Lewis, of Gorham.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the Naval History Society, New York, a half-tone of the battle between the Constitution and Guerriere, August 19, 1812, from the original water color by Garneray in 1818, in the possession of that Society.

From Walter Gilman Page, a bronze reproduction of the Seal of the Sons of the Revolution which appears on all of the tablets erected by that Society; also a photograph of the copy of the Edward Winslow portrait in the State House.

From William T. Clark, a photograph of the Society's painting of James Savage, its president.

From Mrs. Whitman Ware, some Greek and Roman coins.

From Mr. Norcross, seven posters of recruiting in Ward 5, Boston, 1864-65, issued by Otis Norcross, then alderman and recruiting officer.

Philip Hale, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Clarence Walworth Alvord, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Dr. J. C. WARREN presented, with brief remarks, in behalf of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel J. Mixter, a picture of the ruins of the great Boston Fire, of November 9 and 10, 1872, by John J. Enneking from a sketch taken by him the morning after the fire. Mrs. Mixter's father, Charles William Galloupe (1858-1903), had this picture made to his order.

Mr. NORCROSS supplemented Dr. Warren's remarks by giving some of his recollections of the fire on this fiftieth anniversary.

Mr. MURDOCK read a paper on

THE BRITISH AT CONCORD — April 19, 1775.

In considering any phase of the battle of the 19th of April, 1775, we must have always in mind the hatred that existed between the soldiery and the people. The bitterness of the troops was born of long and strict confinement within the crowded area of old Boston, a period marked by bickerings with the townsmen and by the ensuing court-martials and punishments. On the other hand the hatred of the rebellious element for the soldiers had become fanatical in its intensity. It was useless for Gage, a pacific and humane man, to attempt to persuade his critics that the army was in Boston to preserve order and to protect all law-abiding citizens in the enjoyment and exercise of their legal rights. The inflammatory appeals of Samuel Adams and his colleagues nullified all the conciliatory efforts of the British Governor, and history presents him as rather a pitiable object in his lack of influence and in his distaste for strong measures. Among his officers there was always the clamor for action, treason would quail before force strongly exercised. There were other officers, and Percy was among them, who opposed any such move as the Concord project as at once petty and fraught with great risks, a dangerous game, the winning of which would not be worth the candle. Gage was at his wits' end to maintain the morale

of his command and at the same time to appease the unappeasable element in the population. He was driven hither and thither by every wind of doctrine before reaching his final and fatal decision.

British accounts indicate that the expedition comprising all the Grenadiers and Light Infantry in the garrison went out less than 700 strong.<sup>1</sup> As we know, Lieutenant Colonel Smith of the Tenth Regiment was in command, accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Bernard of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, and Major Pitcairn of the Marines. Perhaps these gentlemen welcomed the chance to perform military duty in the field. There was at least the stimulus of a military object to be achieved and a bloodless success might even bring them honorable mention and perhaps ultimate preferment. Let us for a moment indulge in the harmless diversion of glancing over the contemporaneous evidence upon both sides for information as to how these three brethren in arms fared upon their way.

<sup>1</sup> The strength of Smith's command cannot be stated with certainty but we know that the regiments were all far below their normal strength. American estimates give from 800 to 1000 men. An anonymous letter from an Englishman in Boston (*Detail and Conduct of the War*, p. 9) says 800. Captain Evelyn of the 4th Regiment (See *Memoirs and Letters of*, p. 53) says they made "near 700 men." Lieut. Barker says "about 600," and he was in the detachment. Lieut. Mackenzie of the 23rd Regiment informs us that the combined strength of Percy and Smith "did not exceed 1500 men." (2 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, v. 396.) He also gives the actual strength of his own regiment under arms on the 19th of April, as 282 rank and file. Mackenzie is a careful and convincing statistician and it is worthy of note that disregarding the wild estimates of his colleagues he placed the Provincial strength "actually assembled at the close of the day" at 4000. That Mackenzie was a good guesser has been proved by Mr. Frank Coburn of the Lexington Historical Society, for as the result of recent work among the muster rolls in the Massachusetts State Archives, he finds the number of Americans engaged to have been 3763. In an intercepted letter printed in *Force* (4th Series, II. 440) a private soldier says that "twenty-one companies" went out with Smith. If the soldier was right, this would probably mean that nine complete regiments in Boston sent two companies each, the Marine battalion two companies, while a battalion consisting of three companies of the 18th Regiment (Royal Irish) contributed a single company. These 21 companies at 28 men each, the known strength of the 23rd Regiment, would give Smith a total strength of 588 rank and file. I fancy that Mackenzie's estimate of the combined forces was a close one and if we assign 600 to Smith and 900 to Percy's Brigade we are very near the truth. Mackenzie was in a position to know the facts and had he been inclined to exaggerate the numerical inferiority of the troops he would hardly have set the American numbers so low.

Smith must have realized that the success of his mission depended upon secrecy and speed. He did not know, as he was being ferried across the moonlit waters of the Charles, that his secret had become common Provincial property, but by the time the belfry clocks in Boston were clanging the midnight hour he must have become conscious that precious time was being lost. In proof of this we may turn to the diary of Lieutenant John Barker<sup>1</sup> of the King's Own Regiment, a witness who has been too carelessly examined. He places the King's Troops ashore as early as eleven o'clock, the hour that Paul Revere left Charlestown on his ride to Lexington, and says, moreover, that wet and chilly with wading from the boats, they were held there inactive for three long hours awaiting the arrival of provisions which "the Men threw away having carried some with 'em."<sup>2</sup> Now Barker was a young subaltern of a certain well known British type, critical of his superiors, an implacable growler, and in the plenitude of his inexperience full of ideas for putting things to rights. For all that he is a fine fellow and an invaluable witness, and despite the darkness and his fretful state of mind, I take this opportunity of presenting him to you as we shall be much in his company during the progress of this paper. He is our principal authority on British military activities in Concord and although he lacks the exactness of Mackenzie of the Fusileers<sup>3</sup> and is somewhat unreliable

<sup>1</sup> See the Diary of a British soldier in Boston, contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* in April, 1877, by Richard H. Dana, who describes the history of the manuscript and how it came into his hands. The identity of the writer was not then clear beyond the fact that he was a subaltern in the 4th or King's Own Regiment. By the elimination of all the regimental officers mentioned in the diary Mr. Dana reached the conclusion that the writer was either Lieut. David Hamilton or Lieut. Francis Peregrine Thorne. Since that time Barker's authorship has been firmly established. See statement of the Rev. E. G. Porter in Mass. Col. Society Transactions, v. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Barker's assertion naturally suggests the query, why, if the soldiers had taken provisions with them, were they buying food in Concord so early in the forenoon as alleged in American accounts. De Berniere says (2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, iv. 215) that the troops "landed and received a day's provisions," but he makes no mention of such supplies being regarded as superfluous or of their being thrown away.

<sup>3</sup> Lieut. Frederick Mackenzie of the 23rd Regiment, better known as the Royal Welch Fusileers, was promoted to a captaincy in that corps in November, 1775. He was delegated for important duties in the Boston garrison and ultimately rose to high rank in the army. His narrative of his ex-

in the matter of statistics, he is nevertheless a keen and helpful observer. He may have left his watch at his quarters or perhaps he could not read its face by moonlight; otherwise he would hardly have asserted that the march did not begin until two o'clock and that the long halt he bemoans consumed three hours of time. The column must have been on the move by one o'clock to have reached Lexington when it did, but a delay of two hours was quite enough to justify Barker's comments. The fact that neither Smith nor Gage cared to embalm that useless dawdling on the Cambridge flats in their official reports does not militate against the general accuracy of Barker's indictment. He lays the day's failure to this delay.

It is possible that any high hopes entertained by Smith had been dampened before the march began. Even at that early hour there may have been scattered alarm guns to convince him that treason was awake. However that may be, he knew that his last chance for credit melted into thin air with that cloud of powder smoke that drifted across Lexington Common in the early dawn. He was not present at the first shedding of blood, but the fatal deed was the work of men serving under his command. Some of the muddled old gentlemen, survivors of the Lexington slaughter, whom the town brought forward as witnesses in its case against Concord in 1825, did testify to seeing Smith on the Common fifty years before, but they confused him with Pitcairn and no one thought it worth his while to refresh their memories or correct their testimony. There is no other contemporaneous American evidence bearing upon Smith's activities aside from what is to be found in the prints engraved and issued by Doolittle at New Haven in the fall of 1775. In the second plate entitled, "The Town of Concord," Smith is depicted as standing with Pitcairn on the burial hill above that place, looking through his glass in the direction of the North Bridge. There is in these figures so little suggestive of the human form divine that our first feel-

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periences with Percy's Brigade on the 19th of April is a singularly clear and valuable contribution to the history of the day. He was evidently an officer of force and precision and as stated in a previous note, he seems to have had a respect for and a mastery of statistics and detail.

ing is that Doolittle was attempting a gross political caricature. With a broader knowledge of his work, comes the conviction that as a representation of the human visage and anatomy this print approximates his highest level of excellence. In the fourth plate of Doolittle's, labelled "The East Part of Lexington," we may, with the aid of the key, find Smith again, this time on horseback in conference with Lord Percy. As the Colonel had been wounded a half hour before this meeting could have taken place, we must assume that his conference with the young Northumbrian Brigadier did not occur in the manner depicted in the plate.

British sources are almost equally barren of allusions to Smith, but Barker comes to our rescue in Concord flashing him upon the screen for a moment in the following words: "Capt'n Laurie" . . . (who was threatened by a superior force at the North Bridge) "sent to Coll Smith begging he would send more Troops to his Assistance and informing him of his situation; the Coll order'd 2 or 3 Compys. but put himself at their head, by which means stopt 'em from being time enough, for being a very fat heavy Man he wou'd not have reached the Bridge in half an hour, tho' it was not half a mile to it." This allusion savors of disrespect and is characteristic of Barker, who although disapproving Laurie's management at the North Bridge, yet attributes the loss of the position mainly to Smith's deficiencies as a pedestrian.

We have noted that Smith was wounded near Lexington a half hour before the arrival of Percy's brigade. Ensign De Berniere of the 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment records the event in a word but he does not treat it as a matter of importance.<sup>1</sup> We do not learn from him or from anyone else how the stricken commander got back to Boston, whether he continued to ride his horse as indicated in Doolittle's print, or whether he was conveyed thither in a chaise or upon a litter. Gage informs us in his official report that both Smith and Pitcairn "did everything that men could do," and that brief mention completes the sum of all that we can learn of Smith. Surely no soldier ever contributed a more difficult or more

<sup>1</sup> 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, IV. 217.

conscientious day's work to the service of his King. He does not appear to have been guilty of serious blunders or neglect. Perhaps he hardly rose to the situation at Concord, but he made an early request to Gage for reinforcements, an action that not only showed alertness and good judgment but prevented a real disaster. From the pain and seclusion of his sick room in Boston he penned his report to Gage, and it is exceptional in British evidence as betraying humiliation and chagrin.<sup>1</sup> It is remembered now for its querulous complaint, "they did not make one gallant attempt during so long an action." Poor Colonel Smith, to have done everything that a man could do and to live in history by virtue of one petulant phrase!

As for Bernard, the second of the trio, Lieutenant Colonel of the most distinguished regiment in the Boston garrison, he is hardly mentioned in the annals of the day. Gage is silent as to his services but we must assume that he was in immediate command of the Grenadiers. We find his name in the official list of the wounded, for he was hit during the afternoon fighting in Menotomy, but no officer of the detachment remembered to mention it in the letters and diaries that have come down to us. In the *Essex Gazette* of May 12, 1775, is printed an intercepted letter of a common soldier of the Fusileers. He mentions the wounding of Bernard and adds the simple comment, "which all the regiment is sorry for."<sup>2</sup> This is a touching tribute but not suggestive of fame. Let us hope that the gallant colonel's wound was as slight as his service was inconspicuous.

No one will deny that Pitcairn won for himself a place in the historical sun but it was not a place that either Smith or Bernard would have coveted. The limelight of tradition and error still plays fiercely upon him, and he stands forth in the minds of men as one of the conspicuous figures of the day. What American school boy for generations past has not beheld him as flesh and blood, quivering with cruel rage as he urged on his men to the slaughter of the unoffending? What speech of the time, whether uttered by Samuel Adams,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, XIV. 350.

<sup>2</sup> Force, 4th Series II. 440.

Patrick Henry, or another, is better known than that assigned to Pitcairn as the prologue of a great war? "Disperse, ye rebels, ye villains! Damn you, why don't you lay down your arms and disperse!" Captain Parker seems a wraith-like personage; even Paul Revere, the beneficiary of Mr. Longfellow's poetical license, leaves no more vivid impression upon the mind than the Scots major on horseback calling for innocent blood. That Pitcairn was not a man of blood, that he gave no order to fire at Lexington, need not concern us now. As he brooded over his part in ushering in the fateful day, the defence we should offer in his behalf would have brought him small comfort. He had lost control of his men and his professional reputation was dearer to him than the verdict of the future historians of America.

Pitcairn is not a conspicuous figure in the subsequent events of the day. We may see him in Concord through the medium of the Doolittle print we have mentioned, but we do not find him at either of the bridges or at Colonel Barrett's where the Light Infantry were employed. It is evident that he was detained in the village for work in which he had proved himself an adept, the placating of angry citizens and persuading them to submit peacefully to the military necessities of the hour. We learn from Smith that while in the discharge of these duties the Major was assaulted by one irate Provincial. His whereabouts are further revealed in that preposterous petition of Martha Moulton<sup>1</sup> to the Province praying for financial compensation for her services in persuading British officers to extinguish the fire that had caught upon the roof of the Concord Court House. She mentions Pitcairn as among the listless redcoats to whom she made her appeal. It is probable that the Major acted the part of a kindly arbiter on more than one doubtful question of fact, but I fear that he was no match for the zealous villagers, whose capacity for bold and ingenious prevarication was quite beyond his understanding. He is not mentioned in the evidence that pertains to the return march to Lexington. We know that he lost his horse. Some American accounts have it that he was wounded and fell from his saddle. That is of course an error. He may

<sup>1</sup> See appendix to Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*.

have abandoned his mount as a measure of safety but the more probable theory is that the animal reared at a close discharge of musketry and threw the Major to the ground. Though neglected by history at this juncture, Pitcairn has been given a place in historical fiction. It is to James Fenimore Cooper and the pages of *Lionel Lincoln* that we must turn if we would find him on the Concord-Lexington road. Cooper gives us a vivid picture of the scene and places the Major where he doubtless belongs, with the advance and in command of the Light Infantry. Even Cooper deserts him at Lexington, and we can only surmise and hope that on the march to Charlestown Common he took over the command of the men he loved, and shared the fortunes of that devoted Marine battalion that sustained more than twenty-five per cent of the total British casualties for the day.

Contrary to general belief, the 19th of April seems to have been a cold windy day, with a bright sun. We learn as much from the diary of the Rev. William Marrett<sup>1</sup> and his words receive a measure of confirmation from Parson Gordon's statement that on the return march to Boston the troops were annoyed by the smoke blowing back upon them. Evidently the wind was east and from the comments of the two clergymen it is possible to imagine a typical early spring day on the New England coast, when the sea breeze comes in to break an unusually warm spell for that early season. Vegetation was certainly far advanced, trees were leafing out and probably Marrett's use of the word cold should be interpreted with reference to the unseasonable warmth of the days preceding. The idea of heat which tradition assigns to the day is doubtless due to the fact that a very considerable part of the able-bodied citizenry of eastern Massachusetts was at that time engaged in vigorous and unwonted exercise.

As I have said, Lieutenant Barker is our best British authority for what happened at Concord and on the road between that place and Lexington. The narrative of the Rev. Jonas Clark<sup>2</sup> has it that after dispersing Capt. Parker's

<sup>1</sup> See extract from Marrett's diary in Samuel Dunster's *Henry Dunster and his Descendants*, 84, and Jeremy Belknap's ms. entry for the day in his almanac was "fair cool wind."

<sup>2</sup> Appendix to his anniversary sermon preached at Lexington in 1776.

company the troops fired a volley and cheered in token of victory. Barker does not confirm that allegation but his narrative is no more creditable for his side; "we then formed on the Common," he says, "but with some difficulty, the Men were so wild they cou'd hear no orders; we waited a considerable time there, and at length proceeded on our way to Concord, which we then learnt was our destination." This march was uneventful but American tradition furnishes a wealth of interesting and picturesque material as to the thoughts and doings of the country folk who lived along that quiet stretch of road. The sun was up and all need of military secrecy was now dispelled. Many regarded the sudden appearance of the soldiery in such force as a menace and watched their march with dismay or rage but there were others who gazed upon the sight as merely a fleeting pageant. The long scarlet line threading its way among the wind-tossed greenery, the play of light and shade upon polished gun barrels and military adornments stirred the admiration of many sturdy revolutionists who were to do manful work for the cause before that day was done. "We met with no interruption," says Barker, "till within a mile or two of the Town, where the Country People had occupied a hill which commanded the road; the Light Infantry were order'd away to the right and ascended the height in one line, upon which the Yankees quitted it without firing, which they did likewise for one or two more successively. They then crossed the River beyond the Town." This statement is in entire accord with what the Provincials have to say of their own movements from the time they first sighted the British until they passed over the North Bridge and took position on Punkatasset Hill. Shattuck estimates the number of armed Provincials at that time as about 100 men from Concord and Lincoln; other authorities place it higher. The student is impressed with the contrast between the way the military problem was handled here as compared with the way it had been handled in Lexington a few hours before. We are told that the Rev. Mr. Emerson was early with his parishioners in arms and that when the British van flashed glittering upon his sight he appealed to his people to stand their ground; "if we die let us die here." Eleazer

Brooks of Lincoln disapproved the counsel of the ardent young clergyman, pointed out the folly of contending against such odds and urged that it would not do for them to begin the war. His common sense prevailed and the handful of militia and minute men retreated slowly, avoiding dangerous contact with their enemy, until they stood upon the hill beyond the river where reinforcements were fast gathering. The Grenadiers followed the main road and as they entered the village their step was timed to the music of their fifes and drums. The bandsmen of the Light Infantry on the hill responded in kind and then there floated back from the group of retreating Provincials the faint strains of their own music, less resonant and full bodied than the British but as brave and defiant as any that ever was played.<sup>1</sup>

Smith's first orders in Concord were to secure the North and South Bridges, so called. Captain Pole repaired to the South Bridge with a force of Light Infantry and then for affairs at the other place we may listen for a moment to Barker. "The Light Companies were detached beyond the River to examine some Houses for more stores; 1 of these Compys. was left at the Bridge, another on a Hill some distance from it, and another on a hill  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile from that; the other 3 went forward 2 or 3 miles to seek for some Cannon which had been there but had been taken away that morning. During this time the People were gathering together in great numbers, and taking advantage of our scatter'd disposition, seemed as if they were going to cut off the communication with the Bridge, upon which the two Companies joined and went to the Bridge to support that Company. The three Compys. drew up in the road the far side of the Bridge and the Rebels on the Hill above, cover'd by a Wall; in that situation they remained a long time, very near an hour the three Companies expecting to be attacked by the Rebels, who were about 1000 strong."

This recital of Barker's brings us up to about half past nine, more than two hours having elapsed since the troops

<sup>1</sup> "We marched before them with our drums and fifes going and also the British drums and fifes. We had grand music." Capt. Amos Barrett's statement written April 19, 1775. See *Journal and Letters of Rev. Henry True*, Marion, Ohio, 1900.

entered Concord village. It was then that Laurie, the senior officer at the bridge, sent to Smith for reinforcements and the portly Colonel responded in person with the Grenadiers as derisively described by Barker. The British dispositions at the time were, then, briefly as follows; three companies of Light Infantry under Captain Laurie were at the North Bridge, three more companies under Captain Parsons were at Colonel Barrett's house, two miles beyond, the rest of the Light Infantry were with Captain Pole in the vicinity of the South Bridge. Colonel Smith with two or three companies of Grenadiers was on his way to reinforce Laurie and the rest of that corps were in the village searching for and destroying military stores. Plainly the danger point was at the North Bridge above which was concentrated the entire armed strength of Concord and the neighboring towns, a strength that constituted not only a real danger to the detachment at Colonel Barrett's but a menace to the small force with which Laurie held the bridge. Barker says that Laurie was fearful of being attacked and yet as we shall see in a moment he made no preparation for such a contingency. The Provincial numbers now amounted to about 450 men. They had come down from Punkatasset Hill and were now concentrated on the open land west of Major Buttrick's house. They had become disturbed by the smoke rising from bonfires in the village, which gave the impression that the British were firing the place. Adjutant Hosmer is alleged to have propounded the question, "will you let them burn the town down?" A council of war followed whereat, in the words of Ripley, they solemnly resolved "to march into the middle of the town for its defence, or die in the attempt." Ripley further informs us that "they acted upon principle, and in the fear of God." And so Laurie's apprehensions were realized. The fateful advance began, the 450 men of Barrett's command fell into line and marched two and two down the road to the bridge where Laurie's 100 troopers stood at their ease. The Acton men were in front, a fact that has troubled our local history ever since.<sup>1</sup> Major But-

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this question from the Acton point of view see Josiah Adams' address delivered at the "first centennial anniversary of the organization of that town," published Boston, 1835.

trick, Colonel Robinson of Westford and Captain Davis marched at the head of the column. The British hastily retired across the bridge and began to remove the planks. They were ordered to desist by Buttrick. One gun, followed by two or three others was fired by the red coats perhaps as a warning, the bullets splashing in the river. Then came a volley from a score of muskets, the Acton fifer was wounded and Davis and Abner Hosmer were killed. Buttrick gave the command to fire, which was obeyed with deadly effect, and the troops retreated from the bridge. Such, in brief, is the American narrative.<sup>1</sup> The affair occurred probably between half past nine and ten o'clock and was over in a few moments.<sup>2</sup> Here is how it appeared to Barker as he stood with his company at the bridge: "the Rebels marched into the Road and were coming down upon us, when Capn. L — e made his Men retire to this side of the Bridge (which by the bye he ought to have done at first, and then he wou'd have had time to make a good disposition, but at this time he had not, for the Rebels were got so near him that his people were obliged to form the best way they cou'd;) as soon as they were over the Bridge the three companies got one behind the other so that only the front one cou'd fire; the Rebels when they got near the Bridge halted and fronted, filling the road from the top to the bottom. The fire soon began from a dropping shot on our side when they and the front Compy. fired almost at the same instant, there being nobody to support the front Compy. The others not firing the whole were forced to quit the Bridge and return toward Concord; some of the Grenadiers met 'em in the road and then advanced to meet the Rebels, who had got this side the Bridge and on a good height, but seeing the

<sup>1</sup> Acton contended in 1835 (see Josiah Adams' address) that the British fired twice and that Blanchard, the Acton fifer, was wounded at the first discharge which occasioned the American volley. The British then delivered a return fire killing Davis and Hosmer. Supported by statements in the depositions of Thomas Thorp and Solomon Smith made in 1835 (see appendix to Adams' address) and assisted by discrepancies in the Concord evidence of 1775, Adams made an ingenious if not a convincing argument, his aim being to prove that no American guns were fired after Davis fell. Barker's statement makes it clear that only the British front company fired and that they could have fired but once.

<sup>2</sup> Record book of Captain David T. Brown. See extracts printed in footnote to page 32 of Josiah Adams' address.

manoeuvre they thought proper to retire again over the Bridge; the whole then went into Concord, drew up in the Town, and waited for the 3 Companies that were gone on, which arrived in about an hour; 4 officers of 8 who were at the Bridge were wounded; 3 Men killed; 1 Sergt. and several men wounded.”<sup>1</sup>

You will notice how completely Barker's brief narrative supplements and confirms the American accounts. He admits that the British fired the first shot. He does not explain why the fire of the front company was so ineffective, being delivered at close range, and the only explanation seems to be that there was mercy in the soldiers' hearts. Barker's comments on Laurie's defective alignment make it reasonably clear why the musketry of the Provincials wrought such damage. It is evident that the soldiers

<sup>1</sup> Gage says in his *Circumstantial Account* that the Provincial fire “killed three Men, wounded four Officers, one Serjeant, and four private Men.” The officers wounded at the North Bridge were four lieutenants, Gould of the 4th Regiment, Kelley of the 10th, Sutherland of the 38th, and Hull of the 43rd. Gould was struck in the foot and Kelley in the hand while Sutherland escaped with a scratch. Hull's wound was more serious and it is probably of him that the Rev. Mr. Wheeler wrote to Ezra Stiles, “an officer walked a little ways and gave out, upon which they carried him into Town: he asked the Surgeon whether his wound was mortal? Yes: is there a Clergyman near? No.” (Stiles' *Diary*, I. 551-2.) A chaise was impressed for his use but he was wounded again in Menotomy, where he was left a prisoner perhaps at his own request. He was kindly cared for at Samuel Butterfield's house where he was visited by the Rev. Dr. McClure, who found him lying in bed garbed in a great coat, a fur hat on his head. “When I fell,” explained Hull, “our own people stripped me of my coat, vest, and shirt and your people of my shoes and buckles.” This has been construed as meaning that he was robbed by his own men; while the proper inference would seem to be that he had been stripped by the military surgeons. He died on May 2nd and his remains were delivered at the British lines with full military honors. A pathetic account of his last days is given by Dr. McClure. (1 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, XVI. 157.)

Lieut. Gould started to drive a chaise to Boston and left ahead of the column. He met the first Brigade on the road beyond Lexington and later surrendered to a party of Provincials in Menotomy. American estimates are in disagreement with Barker, Gage and nearly all the British authorities, who assert that three British soldiers were killed in the skirmish. Shattuck in 1835 claimed three as the British loss, and on another page of his narrative we find this probable explanation, “one of the wounded died and was buried where Mr. Keyes' house stands.” Shattuck did not give his authority and was ridiculed by Adams in his address. It is reasonably clear that while the British left but two men at the bridge, a third died of his wounds as he was being carried to the village.

crowded into a solid block, presented a narrow front, and deep flanks that were exposed to Provincial riflemen when "they fronted" all along the curving road. Strangely enough the critical Barker has nothing to say about Smith's apparent desertion of Capt. Parsons. When Smith returned to the village he appears to have abandoned that detachment to its fate. That it came back unscathed was not due to any effort on his part, although it is possible that he counted and counted rightly upon the demoralization in the Provincial ranks.<sup>1</sup>

Our subject is the British in Concord, but before we turn our backs upon the old North Bridge perhaps it is permissible to say a few words about our own people, whose rebellious activities were responsible for the presence of the soldiers in the town. In the first place we are impressed with the prudence as well as with the courage of the Provincial leaders. To refuse combat in the morning when they believed the numerical superiority of the troops to be as 8 to 1 was an act of simple common sense; to attack the detachment at the bridge when the odds were nearly 5 to 1 in their own favor cannot be criticised upon military grounds. The controversy between Acton and Concord, which broke out sixty years after the fight, is now almost a forgotten chapter, but it has introduced a controversial quality into American accounts of the affair, disputes that in no way involve the British. While the Concord historians paid high tribute to the merits of Captain Davis, they fell short of the Acton claim that he was the only forceful spirit at the bridge, that he not only heartened but guided the councils of his superiors and that when he fell, Barrett's whole command disintegrated from the lack of dominating leadership. It must, of course, be admitted that the Provincial cohesion and aggressiveness did disappear with the first exchange of shot. Most of the men who crossed the bridge in pursuit of the troops did as Barker says, re-cross the river upon the appearance of Smith with the Grenadiers.<sup>2</sup> Acton advocates

<sup>1</sup> De Berniere, who was with Parsons, says, "they had taken up some of the planks of the bridge, but we got over; had they destroyed it we were most certainly all lost." He evidently counted upon no assistance from Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Shattuck says (page 112) that about 150 men instead of recrossing the

would fain have known what became of that heroic resolve "to march into the middle of the town for its defence or die in the attempt," a resolve subscribed to by men acting "upon principle and in the fear of God." Under this fire of criticism the Concordians of nearly one hundred years ago conducted themselves with a patient restraint worthy of their forbears in 1775. Ripley and Shattuck had directed their shafts at Lexington, with a somewhat irritating smugness, be it said, but were guiltless of any intentional slight upon Acton, whose armed representatives had acquitted themselves with conspicuous valor at the bridge and had sustained all the casualties inflicted by the British at that place. Under great provocation the Concord people of Shattuck's day were slow to anger, they refrained from employing the much misused affidavit, they did not protest too much. They could not account for the presence of the Acton company in the van, for that problem has always been as insoluble as it was unimportant, but they stood on the broad ground that their companies were exposed to British bullets and that Major Buttrick marched at the head of the column. That Davis, had he lived, could have held the Provincials together is a statement that cannot be proved, as is that other assertion that he would have stood by the solemn resolve to fight his way into Concord village. This theory seems to ignore the fact that Davis bore the reputation of being a wise as well as well as a courageous man. I have wondered whether Ripley may not have innocently distorted some characteris-

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bridge made their way across "the Great Field" to Merriam's Corner, but does not give his authority. Amos Barrett, giving his recollections in 1825, states, "we soon drove them from the bridge," but adds, "we did not follow them." Despite this surprising statement he goes on to say that "We then saw the whole body of the British coming out of town" and that with some 200 other Provincials he lay behind a wall with his musket trained upon Smith's Grenadiers awaiting the command from Buttrick to fire. The British he says "staid about 10 minutes and then marched back and we after them." This statement of Barrett's is out of harmony with every other witness. It is possible that the 200 men mentioned by Barrett may be identical with Shattuck's 150, and that while they did not follow the British on the road, they kept abreast by crossing "the Great Field" to Merriam's Corner. Josiah Adams ridicules Shattuck's claim and cites the deposition of Thorp, "in a short time we returned over the bridge but did not form in any order," and that of Smith, "after a short time we dispersed, and, without regularity went back over the bridge."

tics of the council of war upon the hill and whether the spirit that gave birth to the resolve may not have been more impulsive than solemn and deliberate in character.<sup>1</sup> At all events, no one was bound by oath to do a foolish thing. The melting away of Barrett's force after the firing should have occasioned neither surprise nor criticism. These men were not trained soldiers, their military association was of the loosest and most elastic sort, they were merely stout yeomen embattled for the moment. The first reaction from the excitement of battle was doubtless one of misgiving not unmingled with fear. They had taken a bold step; in premeditated and orderly fashion they had shed the blood of the soldiers of the King. Whether they should be known hereafter as patriots or as traitors, whether they should be crowned with laurel or hanged by the neck until they were dead, depended upon the sequel of what they had dared to do. Their fate in life and their status in history they had already consigned to the lap of the gods.

Mention should be made here of the third print in Doolittle's series which gives us the aspect of the battle-ground as it was in 1775,<sup>2</sup> the North Bridge, the river bank, the hillside sloping up to the muster ground, and the houses on the ridge. From that same slope today, green acres that are still in the possession of Major Buttrick's descendants, you may

<sup>1</sup> There was one impulsive man in the Provincial council, if we can accept the tradition that was first given broadcast to the world by Frederic Hudson in an article on the Concord fight published in *Harper's Magazine* in April, 1875. Captain Timothy Brown lived hard by the North Bridge and his company of minute men was the first to appear in arms on the battle morning. It is alleged of him that just before the British fired their fatal volley at the bridge, a bullet whistling by his ear drew forth the unpremeditated and regrettable words, "God damn it, they are firing ball!" We are assured that this speech, so suggestive of Sergeant Cambronne's exploit at Waterloo, constituted the Captain's first and only venture within the realm of profanity. Perhaps this legend will not stand the test of modern scientific historical examination and yet, while no advocate of swearing, I hope that its truth cannot be disproved. To me Brown's presence lends a touch of reality to that brave muster on the hill, he is a living, breathing personality, strongly drawn upon the stormy canvas of the day. We may all conjecture as to where he could have heard such language as is ascribed to him, but this much can be said in his defence, that few chronic swearers of oaths could have surpassed what he achieved on his first attempt.

<sup>2</sup> The title of this print is "The Engagement at the North Bridge in Concord."

look down upon a scene that in nearly 150 years has undergone no essential change, that appears much as it did on that April morning of long ago when the Acton men came tramping out of "the back road" to the tune of "the White Cockade." The sluggish river glides lazily beneath the replica of the old North Bridge, wildwood still fringes the banks, and its drooping foliage is reflected in the mirror of the quiet stream. The ruthless energy of man has achieved nothing to affront the eye of one who stands upon this historic ground and who would in imagination, travel back over the long road to yesterday. Silence and peace brood over the place, save when the motor bus from the city with its inquisitive and chattering freight comes clanking and hooting up to the river's edge. Then indeed is the Old Manse roused from its dreaming by the din of infernal machinery and the Babel of many tongues.

While the embattled farmers were discharging their military duties at the North Bridge, a bloodless battle of wits was waging in Concord Village and in other sections of the town. We have only American evidence as to this contest and it is from our own chroniclers that we learn that the general conduct of the soldiery in the discharge of their unpleasant duty was almost above reproach.<sup>1</sup> It is true that

<sup>1</sup> The story of Pitcairn's savage speech as he stirred his whiskey with a bloody finger, has, I believe, been relegated to the realm of myths. Mr. Hudson, prone as he was to revere the whole body of American tradition, publicly abandoned this more than thirty years ago. (1 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, xvii. 322.) The story was a long time a-dying and has recently been revived eliminating Pitcairn and substituting "an officer" in his place. (*The Beginnings of the American Revolution*, by Ellen Chase, iii. 53.) I am not aware of evidence that supports the legend in any form. The allegation of both Ripley and Shattuck that the British set fire to the Concord Court House is not only utterly out of harmony with the probabilities, but it is not proved by the evidence usually cited in its support. Martha Moulton deposes, "When all on a sudden, they the British had set fire to the great gun carriages just by the house, and while they were in flames your petitioner saw smoke arise out of the Town House higher than the ridge of the house." (Frothingham's *Siege*, 369.) Hannah Moulton, as we know, was seeking some modest part of the public funds for her success in persuading the British officers to have this fire extinguished, but the inference I should draw from her somewhat ambiguous statement is that the building caught from the burning gun carriages. This was Mr. Hudson's opinion in 1880 (1 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, xvii. 322). Had the reverse been true I fear that the excited entreaties of Martha Moulton would have been in vain. It is also alleged that old Samuel Buttrick

Ripley asserts that "while in the village the British seized and abused several persons, aged men who were not armed," but on the other hand he cites but one censurable incident. Deacon Thomas Barrett he characterizes as a man "noted for his piety and goodness and for his mildness of disposition," qualities, which if now of seeming rarity, were, we are assured, the common possession of the Patriot citizenry of the time. Yet this man was denounced as a traitor and his life threatened by the soldiers before he was suffered with jocose remarks to depart in peace. Inasmuch, however, as we know and must assume that the British knew that his son was conducting a gun factory upon the paternal premises, we must in all fairness admit that if anyone in Concord was to come under suspicion or was to suffer an affront, it is possible that Deacon Barrett had qualified for the distinction. At Concord the soldiers came into contact with women. What was their attitude toward them? Read the accounts of how Mrs. Barrett fared in her house where munitions of war were hidden in the attic under piles of feathers and see if you can detect any act on the part of the minions of the King that was unworthy of officers or of gentlemen. In a certain room of the Jones Tavern, Henry Gardner, the Province Treasurer, had concealed "a chest containing some money and other important articles." As the soldiers were preparing to enter the room a certain Hannah Barns appeared with the assertion "that it was her apartment and contained her property." She was politely questioned, the soldiers passed on, and Gardner's chest was saved. In the house of Amos Wood there was a locked door which led into an apartment piled high with Provincial property, but when Captain Pole was informed that frightened women of the household had taken refuge there he forbade any one to enter and went his way. Moreover, we have it on Shattuck's authority that on quitting the house the officers left "a guinea apiece to each of the female attendants to compensate them for their trouble."

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was crippled for life by a blow from a soldier's musket, and that after the soldiers left Colonel Barrett's, fifty dollars was missing from a bureau drawer. I have not investigated these charges, but while they are not cited by Ripley and Shattuck, such isolated incidents might well have occurred. If Samuel Buttrick served at the North Bridge with his kinsman the Major, as asserted in Concord Guide Books, he certainly ran some risks.

Nor was it necessary to wear the petticoat to fool a soldier. You remember how Timothy Wheeler by his "shrewd and successful address," saved the Provincial flour. He admitted the soldiers to his storehouse where he had placed bags of his own grain alongside the Provincial store. "I am a miller," he declared, putting his hand upon his own bags, "and every gill of this is mine." The officer in charge withdrew his men with the remark, "Well, we do not injure private property."<sup>1</sup> Surely what Shattuck calls "the innocent artifice of individuals" had its reward and the victories of peace were quite as effective as those of war in bringing the King's cause to grief at Concord. The British soldier had come out hating the people, he had shed blood at Lexington, but at Concord he not only, under discipline, conducted himself with humanity and consideration, but was there hoodwinked and fooled to the top of his bent. We may well query whether Federal tax inspectors or enforcers of the Volstead Act operating in the old Middlesex town in this year of Grace would prove as gullible and as amenable to the spoken word, as were the armed forces of the King in 1775.

There was one tragic incident in Concord that must be mentioned here as it has long been avoided or misrepresented by American writers who, it seems to me, either failed to comprehend its importance in the battle story or cherished a distorted notion that its recital would constitute a blot upon a heroic cause. When Captain Parsons' detachment reached the North Bridge on its return from Colonel Barrett's, the soldiers were shocked to find a comrade of Laurie's command lying in the road, with his head horribly mutilated, or in the words of Gage in his *Circumstantial Account*, "scalped, his Head much mangled, and his Ears cut off, tho' not quite dead." The culprit guilty of this brutal act of assaulting a wounded Briton, appears to have been what President Langdon would have characterized as of "weak mental powers." He was known to Mr. Emerson, and that reverend gentleman in great perturbation whispered the facts of the case to Gordon, the historian. Gordon committed his information to print in the following words: "a young fellow

<sup>1</sup> Holmes, *Annals*, II. 326.

coming over the bridge in order to join the country people, and seeing the soldier wounded and attempting to get up, not being under the feelings of humanity, very barbarously broke his skull and let out his brains with a small axe (apprehend of the tomahawk kind,) but as to his being scalped and having his ears cut off, there was nothing in it. The poor object languished for an hour or two before he expired.”<sup>1</sup> It was a cruel and unprovoked atrocity which all Concord understood and deplored sincerely, but which the Provincial authorities at Watertown hesitated to confess. The use of the word “scalped,” in the British reports afforded these men the opportunity to deceive by asserting a technical truth, a temptation that was too strong to be resisted. So Zecariah Brown and Thomas Davis were brought forward and on May 11, 1775, they made oath to the fact that they “buried the dead bodies of the King’s troops that were killed at the North Bridge in Concord and that neither of those persons were scalped nor had their ears cut off, as has been represented.”<sup>2</sup>

The Reverend Ezra Ripley was most solicitous that this cat should be kept in the bag, and in his history he leaves us to infer that both of the British victims at the bridge met instantaneous death by gunfire. In 1835, Shattuck also thought it best to conceal the facts. Fortunately or unfortunately as we have already noted, there was that in Shattuck’s narrative of the fight which offended the susceptibilities of the good people of Acton, who at once began to collect from their aged townsmen who had served at the North Bridge sixty years before the affidavits so characteristic of the period. In the testimony of Thomas Thorp, Solomon Smith and Charles Handley the long smothered facts of the Concord atrocity were once more brought joyously to light.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Force, 4th Series, II. 621.

<sup>2</sup> Deposition of Zecariah Brown and Thomas Davis, Jr., Concord, May 11, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> “Two of the enemy were killed — one with a hatchet, after being wounded and helpless. This act was a matter of horror to us all. I saw him sitting up and wounded, as we had passed the bridge.” Thomas Thorp’s deposition, July 10, 1835. “Two of the British were killed there. One of them was left on the ground wounded, and in that situation, was killed by an American with a hatchet. This act met with universal disapprobation, and was excused only by the excitement and inexperience of the

Josiah Adams, a native of Acton, took up the prevailing quarrel and in a tract published in 1835 he ruthlessly arraigns Shattuck for his dishonest evasion of the episode. It is not now clear to us how the irresponsible act of a passer-by could ever have been construed as reflecting upon the fair fame of Concord, but her traducers were not in a judicial frame of mind and doubtless Shattuck was more the object of their animosity than the town in which he lived and of which he wrote. Acton's wrath had this result, that it restored to history the murder of the soldier. Nathaniel Hawthorne moved into the Old Manse in 1842 and in his essay of that name he describes how standing by the rude stone that marked the soldier's grave he heard the story of the tragedy from the lips of "Lowell the poet." It was told as tradition but it appealed to Hawthorne's imagination and he was fearful that it might not be true. "I could wish," he says, "that the grave might be opened; for I would fain know whether either of the skeleton soldiers has the mark of an axe in his skull. The story comes home to me like truth. Oftentimes, as an intellectual and moral exercise, I have sought to follow that poor youth through his subsequent career and observe how his soul was tortured by the blood stain, contracted as it had been before the long custom of war had robbed human life of its sanctity and while it still seemed murderous to slay a brother man. This one circumstance has borne more fruit for me than all that history tells us of the fight." Lossing mentioned the episode in 1850 in a few brief but honest words, and Frothingham made a briefer but equally honest statement in his *History of the Siege*. In 1858 Bancroft approached the subject with reluctance and in the spirit of an apologist. Here is his contribution, surely a model of brevity and discretion, "one wounded soldier, attempting to rise as if to escape, was struck on the head by a young man with a hatchet." We learn nothing from him of the effect of the blow, whether

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perpetrator." Solomon Smith's deposition, July 10, 1835. "I heard at the time, and many times since, that one of the two British, who were killed at the bridge, was killed with a hatchet, after he was left wounded. The young man who killed him, told me in 1807, that it had worried him very much; but that he thought he was doing right, at the time." Charles Handley's deposition, December 1, 1835.

the soldier lived or died, whether his head was mutilated by the blade or whether he was subdued by the flat of the axe. Bancroft was the first to palliate the young man's attack, and he leaves us to infer that the assailant was engaged in a laudable effort to prevent the escape of a prisoner. In 1875, the Rev. Grindall Reynolds carried on in Bancroft's mood while rejecting his theory. He admitted that the soldier was cloven through the skull, but asserted that it was the deed of a lad at whom "he made a thrust with his bayonet."<sup>1</sup> Five years later Mr. Hudson gave us an honest epitome of Gordon's original narrative, but concluded with the statement that the assailant struck his wounded victim "several blows upon his head, and thus ended his sufferings." Perhaps I am wrong, it is at best a mere splitting of hairs, but in that concluding phrase of Hudson's, I think I recognize an almost pathetic attempt on his part to convince himself that possibly the young man had recourse to his hatchet from an impelling desire to put a suffering fellow creature out of misery. The real trouble with Hudson's statement is that there is nothing to show that the soldier's wound was mortal, and the British assertion that he was "not quite dead" when found, is confirmed by Gordon's admission that "the poor object languished for an hour or two before he expired." These evasions and theories of our nineteenth century writers are submitted for their psychological rather than for their historical interest. We may rest assured that the Rev. Mr. Emerson knew the facts and, had there been extenuating circumstances of the sort I have quoted, he would have communicated them to Gordon in 1775.

The importance of this regrettable episode lies in the influence it exerted upon the British morale on the 19th of April, and, through not unnatural distortions and exaggerations upon public opinion in England. How could it have been otherwise? The one hundred witnesses of Parsons' command were soon mingling with their comrades in the village and the gruesome tale was passed from mouth to mouth in all sorts of exaggerated forms. You read of it in the reports of Smith and Percy, in Gage's letter to Trumbull,

<sup>1</sup> See Reynold's tract on Concord fight published Boston, 1875. His theory was based on a statement made by Chaplain Thaxter in his old age.

in his official report to the War Office in London, and in the Parliamentary records. You find it, too, in private letters of British officers and soldiers. We may regret that a frank statement of the facts was not forthcoming from the Provincial Congress. This would have cleared up the charges or robbed them of their sting; but for the British soldier in Concord no explanation was possible, and when about noon the orders rang out that put the column in motion on its return march to Boston the sickening conviction had spread throughout the ranks that the Americans "scalped" the wounded. With rage and horror in their hearts the Grenadiers and Light Infantry passed out of Concord into Lexington road. All along the high ground above, the Provincial minute men were gathering and they looked down in anger upon the ruthless hirelings of the Crown whose hands were stained with American blood that cried out for vengeance. As the British took up their march, the sort of resentment upon which brutality thrives was raging in the hearts of men upon both sides.

American annals teem with picturesque incidents that have to do with that happy hunting from Concord to Lexington and tablets placed along the old battle road commemorate many real and fancied episodes of the day. The American scheme of attack was of course a happening, and not the result of a prearranged plan. Its effectiveness may well have been a surprise to them as it was a matter of consternation to their enemy. No one can say how many of the armed men gathered in Concord entered upon the pursuit, but it is probable that after Merriam's Corner had been passed the numerical superiority was with the Provincials. Minute Men diverted from their march to Concord by the sound of firing closed in upon the Lexington road and secreted themselves in the underbrush and behind other favorable cover. Fresh companies were constantly arriving. As the men grew bolder they entered houses and fired from within and behind them. The British rear guard was much annoyed by the fire from buildings that during the passage of the column had appeared to be deserted. As the British approached the Lexington line they were opposed by more than twice their number. Here they encountered

anew the indomitable Lexington company and here Jedidiah Munroe, who had been wounded on the Common in the morning, met a soldier's death. Smith's flank guards whose early operations had been effective now began to fail from sheer exhaustion. The British commander had pinned his faith to the reinforcements for which he had appealed in the early morning hours and their non-appearance filled him with anxiety and dismay. British evidence makes it clear that the soldiers threw away their fire without judgment with no enemy in sight, and in the extraordinary conditions prevailing, the officers seem to have been powerless to prevent this waste. These soldiers were maddened by the galling fire they sustained from unseen enemies and the dread of "scalping" was always in their minds. Yet no charge of cruelty lies against them and we know that such of their wounded as fell into Provincial hands were treated with humanity and consideration. All angered as they were, these warring men of common British ancestry maintained a clean if bitter fight along that six miles of road. Smith, seeing no way of crippling his enemy, tried to speed up his march and prayed with lessening faith for the arrival of the long expected succor. He was wounded at a critical moment. The column was then approaching Lexington village. Its effective strength had been reduced by twenty-five per cent, panic and insubordination threatened, and the ammunition was nearly exhausted. The officers tell plain, straightforward stories in the diaries and letters that have been brought to light; they show no disposition to minimize the peril in which they stood. Hope of assistance had well-nigh vanished and the surrender or dispersal of the entire detachment seemed imminent.

Then, almost in the twinkling of an eye, the situation changed. The Provincial fire that had been growing closer and more deadly with every moment, suddenly waned, then almost ceased, and the Light Infantry passing hurriedly on by Lexington Common, found themselves looking into the promised land. It was no mirage or optical illusion that met their half doubting gaze, but uniformed flesh and blood drawn up in battle array. Above the steel fringed lines of infantry the standards of three famous British regiments

streamed out in the fresh breeze. A cloud of smoke billowed above the tree tops, and the roar of a six-pounder echoing and reverberating among the woods and hills, proclaimed that the Royal Artillery was in the field. What wonder that the weary, tortured soldiery broke into shouts and cheers as they first beheld Earl Percy and his men? After despondency and dread they tasted real exaltation that was akin to the joy of victory. The Provincials, robbed of their prey, experienced the disappointment and chagrin that is born of a sense of defeat. There was to be hard fighting for all these men of kindred blood before the setting of the sun, but with the first cannon shot the curtain falls upon what for the King's troops was the critical period of that April battle day.

#### FRANKLIN'S ACCOUNTS AGAINST MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. FORD said:

If any proof of Franklin's greatness was needed, the lasting interest in his performance would suffice. To the bibliographer his work is a source of joy. With an almost perfect sense of form and fitness in his own productions, he was bountiful in aid and suggestion to others, and became responsible for a number of publications, not associated with his name.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the attention given to his printing and publishing activities new discoveries are continually made or new connections developed. I have found some items of Frankliniana hitherto unrecorded so far as I can learn, not without importance, as measuring his public service to Massachusetts.

In turning over the volumes of Massachusetts Archives, now in the keeping of Mr. John H. Edmonds as State archivist, I noticed a paper of which I took a memorandum, not having the time to examine it closely. Some two years passed before the memorandum reminded me of the matter, and then, through the courtesy of Mr. Edmonds having ob-

<sup>1</sup> An example is seen in his printing at Passy, *Conciliateur de toutes les Nations d'Europe*, 1782, an essay by Pierre André Gargaz, a galley-slave for twenty years. It has recently been reprinted by Mr. George Simpson Eddy of New York.

tained photostat reproductions, I was in a position to study the document and its accompanying papers at my leisure. I found that it was the account of expense submitted by Franklin as agent of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay for service rendered, and that it had been paid on Franklin's visit to the camp of the Continental army as member of a committee of the Continental Congress in 1775.<sup>1</sup> It covered the legal expenses in the proceedings arising out of the Hutchinson-Oliver letters, which formed so dramatic an incident in Franklin's career. The well-known story of the transmission by Franklin of the original letters to Massachusetts under an injunction of secrecy, of their publication contrary to that injunction, of the resulting duel between Whately and Temple, of Franklin's public assumption of responsibility, of the process brought against him by Whately and the savage and unseemly attack upon him by Wedderburn — all this is to be found in any life of Franklin. The details of the lawyer's bills add nothing except some precise dates; but they do indicate the manner of making up a lawyer's charge in that day, from the fees to the leading counsel and assistants to the presents given to servants or court officers. Fees, it must be remembered, are the forerunners of fixed salaries, and, though open to great abuses, were the ordinary mode of recognizing services in that day. The rebellion of the colonies put an end to all proceedings against Franklin, so the matter in question was never passed upon by the law officers of the crown. For that reason the manner in which Franklin obtained the Hutchinson letters has never come to light, and probably never will be disclosed.

Whately's suit in Chancery was brought in January, 1774, and about the last day of that month Life obtained a copy of the bill in which Whately set forth his charges against Franklin. It is summarized in the "Tract" (Smyth, vi. 286), and Franklin's answer upon oath is outlined in the same essay. The answer was prepared after consulting with Dunning, Lee, Jackson and Sayre; but in the light of experience Franklin asserted that he had "now learnt that in chancery, tho' the *Defendant* [himself] must swear to the

<sup>1</sup> The purpose and membership of the Committee are in *Journals* (Ford), III. 265, 266.

Truth of every Point in his Answer, the *Plaintiff* [Whately] is not put to his Oath, or obliged to have the least Regard to Truth in his Bill, but is allowed to lie as much as he pleases. I do not understand this, unless it be for the Encouragement of Business.”<sup>1</sup> The explanation that Franklin gives for Whately’s bringing such a vexatious suit against him, that he had acted by direction of others, and presumably of the King’s ministers, is not convincing.<sup>2</sup>

From one item in these accounts we learn that on January 20, 1774, Franklin gave to Agent Life, 1, the petition to the King from the House of Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay, for the removal from office of Hutchinson and Oliver; 2, copies of the letters of Hutchinson and Oliver letters, “and his own Remarks on each particular Letter”; and 3, “his general observations on the whole.” The “Remarks” on each letter have been lost, but I believe the “general observations on the whole” to be the basis of the “Tract relative to the Affair of Hutchinson’s Letters,” which was first printed in William T. Franklin’s compilation of the *Works* in 1817, and is in Smyth, vi. 258. In that case the paper was prepared early in 1774, between January 11, when Wedderburn called for the letters, and the 20th, when the “observations” were given to Life, and probably was modified later, as it mentions Wedderburn’s attack, which occurred on the 29th. The paper is known by a draft and transcript, both in the Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress.<sup>3</sup>

The letters of Barbeau-Dubourg give an opportunity to question a statement of Brunet on the translation into French of Franklin’s writings on electricity. In the 1838 edition of his *Manuel du Libraire* he says that the translator was “M. l’Ecuy” and the same statement occurs in the

<sup>1</sup> *Writings* (Smyth), vi. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 289. Hill, in his edition of Boswell (ii. 137) states that Franklin wrote of Whately’s agency in Johnson’s pension as of 1773, but it was more probable in 1774, after the chancery suit had been instituted.

<sup>3</sup> Incidentally I am able to clear doubt from a name in this “Tract” of Franklin where he speaks of letters of “Rosne and Auchmuty” (Smyth, vi. 264). It should be Rome, and refers to a letter written from Narraganset, December 22, 1767, and signed George Rome. Wedderburn gave some attention to it in his attack on Franklin and it was printed as a broadside in 1774, and not in 1767, as stated in *Collections*, lxxv. 1423.

edition of 1861. Larouse attributes the translation to Jean Baptiste Lécuy (1740-1834), a native of Yvoi-Carignan (Ardennes), who was admitted into the order of the Prémontrés in 1759, and taught successively philosophy and theology, becoming the "prieur-secrétaire" in 1775. The Prémontrés, established in 1120 by St. Norbert, took their name from Prémontré, near Laon. Barbeau-Dubourg shows that Lesqui, a member of the order of Prémontrés, evidently a manner of writing Lécuy, began the translation, that Le Roy had some part, but that he himself took hold, because of the slow progress. The title reads, "traduites . . . Par M. Barbeau-Dubourg" and gives, as the residence of the author, "rue de la Bucherie, aux Ecoles de Medecine," a place described in one of the following letters. I doubt if it is correct to give Lécuy or Lesqui as the translator.

With the legal bills which were prepared by agent Thomas Life, are two other papers, neither of which seemed at first sight to possess any interest. One is a bill of C. Say, a printer in London, against a Mr. Massie, for printing a series of papers on the trade of Ireland with London, that of New England with London, and four "Letters to the Principal Landholders of England" — all broadsides or leaflets. The "Letters" were part of a series — Nos. 8 to 11 — and were issued in March and April, 1774, in editions of from one thousand to four thousand copies, intended for circulation in Great Britain. When it is considered that the charge for this printing was paid by the Province of Massachusetts-Bay curiosity is excited on the origin of what is — so far as I know — a unique experiment in propaganda by a royal province from this side of the ocean at that time. Franklin must have been authorized to select the agent, but his connection with Massie is shown by only one paper in the Franklin collection, dated December 18, 1771, and that relates to an extension of time to fulfill the conditions of a certain transaction, and is worded too cautiously to give foundation even for conjecture. This memorandum was as follows:

Whereas I Benjamin Franklin Esq<sup>r</sup>. on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup>: 1770, did receive from Joseph Massie sundry manuscript and printed

Books and Papers, upon certain Conditions; and whereas I the said Joseph Massie, on the 22<sup>nd</sup>. of Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1770, did receive from the said Benjamin Franklin Esq<sup>r</sup>: the sum of Sixty Guineas, upon certain Conditions; all which Conditions are specified in the Receipts taken by each of us respectively from the other, on the said 22<sup>nd</sup>. of Dec<sup>r</sup>: 1770: Now this Writing or Memorandum witnesseth that it is mutually agreed between us the said Benjamin Franklin and the said Joseph Massie that the Time of performing the several Conditions mentioned in both or either of the aforesaid Receipts, shall be, and is hereby extended or prolonged until the 24<sup>th</sup>. of June 1772. In Testimony whereof we have each of us hereunto and likewise unto a Duplicate of the same Tenor and Date as this, set our Hands this 18<sup>th</sup>. of Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1771 —

B. FRANKLIN  
JOSEPH MASSIE <sup>1</sup>

Of Joseph Massie little is known except that his writings are dull reading. Mr. Gordon Goodwin says of him that his knowledge of the economic literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made him “upon the whole a discriminating critic, though he was too much inclined to judge events of his own day in the light of the past.” But he adds: “His schemes met apparently with little encouragement either from the public or from the statesmen to whom he dedicated his works, for he had ceased to write, or at least to publish, twenty years before his death, which took place in Holborn on 1 Nov. 1784.” A list of eighteen tracts is appended to Goodwin’s article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but tables of calculations published in single folio sheets are omitted. It is possible, therefore, that these *Letters* were known to Goodwin, but they are not in the catalogue of the British Museum, and I have found only one example — No. VIII — which I stumbled upon in the New York Historical Society and which is added to this paper. What general effect on English opinion this series of papers was intended to produce it is difficult to conceive. Parliament or the Ministry was the body to act upon, and some liberals, merchants with American connections, and agents of the

<sup>1</sup> From the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, L. (i) 42. I owe the copy to the courtesy of Miss Rebecca E. Kirkpatrick, Assistant Secretary of the Society.

colonies were seeking to influence that source of action, and the general public were not only indifferent but impervious to instruction or discussion of the relations between Great Britain and her American colonies. Who first suggested a campaign of education from Massachusetts-Bay or who designated that somewhat decayed economist, Massie, as a fit instrument for conducting the campaign are questions incapable of answer. We only know that Massachusetts-Bay paid the cost and that the leaflets, hitherto unknown even by title, will take rank among the great rarities in the literature of the War for Independence.<sup>1</sup> Massie's writing for Franklin came to an end in April, 1774, but, with supreme balance and oversense of equal justice, within two months he had sent a printed letter with the caption of the Massachusetts series, but dated June 9, to Lord Dartmouth, and announced the titles of three treatises he proposed to publish on the subject of commerce with Europe and the British American colonies.<sup>2</sup> In his need he was not going to let a little difference in politics interfere with marketing the products of his pen.<sup>3</sup>

Another bill filed with these Franklin vouchers was of William Strahan, the King's printer and Franklin's long-time friend, a man of large views and success in business. In it is noted the printing in February, 1773, of five hundred copies of the *Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, In Town Meeting* [October 28 and November 2 and 20, 1772] which was published by John Wilkie, a noted bookseller of London, with an introduction attributed to Franklin, and a like edition of the *True State of the Proceedings respecting Massachusetts Bay*, first published by Bailey in London in folio and reprinted by Joseph Cruikshank in Philadelphia in 1774, the cost of both English issues being paid by Massachusetts. The authorship of the latter tract has been given to Franklin

<sup>1</sup> I have listed them in *Collections*, LXXV. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Dartmouth Papers, II. 213.

<sup>3</sup> In the British Museum is a single sheet of Massie, printed in 1781, entitled: "Second Collection. The following letters [to the Landholders of England and Citizens of London] are here re-printed together for the more convenient information of the Committees and Delegates of associated countries, . . . and all other well-meaning men, throughout England."

or to Arthur Lee, and the mention in the printer's bill is not conclusive on that point. Lee is the more likely to have written it, upon material supplied by Franklin.<sup>1</sup>

Another item on Strahan's bill provoked investigation. It called for an edition of five hundred copies of "*Petit Code de la Raison Humaine*," issued in December, 1772, with two errata in June and September, 1773, all paid for by the Philadelphia Library Company, for which Franklin was continually buying books in London. The bill would show that the entire edition was sent to Philadelphia,<sup>2</sup> yet the Library which paid the bill does not have a copy of the tract.

The author of this anonymously issued tract was Jacques Barbeu-Dubourg, physician and botanist, born at Mayenne in 1709 and died in Paris in 1779. He was probably something of a liberal in politics, for in 1752, he translated some of Bolingbroke's writings, notably his *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, in two volumes. The next year was published at Paris and at his own expense, *Chronographie ou Description des Tems*, which had enough merit to be edited and republished in 1838, some eighty-five years after its first appearance. He then turned his attention to botany and printed in Paris through Lacombe in 1767 *Botaniste Français*, which is said to have greatly encouraged the taste for botany in France, a taste later much utilized by Jefferson among his lady friends in Paris. In 1769 he translated Dickinson's *Farmer's Letters*. He wrote on medical subjects. It is rather noticeable that he printed in many places — Paris, Siéclopolie [Frankfort], Dresden and Amsterdam, and a number of his publications have no place of issue. He would have been unknown, even by name, in America had it not been for his friendship for Franklin, for whom his admiration could hardly be expressed in words. It is probable that they met at some meeting of physicists, or Doctors or Physiocrats, and about the year 1768, if the formality of

<sup>1</sup> See Ford's *Bibliography of Franklin*, 315, and Evans, 13282.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Watt in his *Bibliotheca Britannica*, published in 1824, states that Franklin reprinted the *Petit Code* in England, and "sent it to America," but gives no authority for the statement, now apparently supported by Strahan's bill. Yet I doubt if that was the disposition of the tract.

the earliest of Barbeau-Dubourg's letters offers any indication. The first "favor" seems to have come from Franklin, but the Frenchman loyally discharged the debt by revising and superintending the publication of a translation by Lesqui of Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* in 1773. The rest is told in the letters.

In my doubt, on the *Petit Code*, I naturally turned to Mr. William S. Mason, who places his rich Franklin collection and his own wide knowledge freely at the call of investigators. He sent the following titles of issues contained in his library:

1. Code | de l'Humanité | Ou Loix immutables qui servent | de base aux devoirs, aux droits, | & au | bonheur de l'Homme. | Extrait du Mercure de France du mois | de Decembre 1768. | A Paris, | chez Lacombe, Libraire, rue | Christine, près la rue Dauphine. | Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roi.

1 leaf and 14 (3-16) pages 165 x 105 mm. The pamphlet contains 33 short articles and is signed at the end: "A Paris, ce 10 Mars 1768. J. Barbeau-Dubourg." This is the first issue of the *Code* in pamphlet form and a great rarity.

- 1a. *Petit Code* translated in English and printed at the instance of Franklin, 1770.

No copy has been found.

2. Petit Code | de la | Raison Humaine: | ou | Exposition succincte | de ce que | La Raison dicte à tous les Hommes, | pour | Eclairer leur Conduite, & assurer leur | Bonheur. | A Londres | chez Becket & De Hondt, Libraires, dans le Strand, | MDCCCLXXIII.

The tract was printed in 1772, as the bill proves, but no copy with title of that year is known. From December, 1772, to September, 1773, it appears to have rested in the hands of the printer and a title for 1773 followed.

3. Petit Code | de la | Raison Humaine, | ou | Exposition succincte | de ce que | La Raison dicte a tous | les hommes, | Pour éclairer leur conduite & | assurer leur bonheur. | Par M. B. D. | M. DCC. LXXXII.

"He [D-B] had enlarged his little piece, which you translated; and in respect for his memory, I have had it printed. I inclose a copy." Franklin to Mrs. Mary Hewson, June, 1782, (Smyth), VII. 541.

4. Petit Code | de la | Raison Humaine | ou | Exposition succincte | de ce que | La Raison dicte a tous | les Hommes, | Pour éclairer leur conduit & | assurer leur bonheur. | Par M. B. D. | M. DCC. LXXXIX.

Here then is a matter of bibliographical interest, for it proves that the second known issue in the list was printed in London, by William Strahan, at the instance of Franklin, in an edition of five hundred copies, and, apparently, the Philadelphia Library Company paid the cost. Yet it was a second London edition. For Franklin was attracted by the pamphlet and caused it to be translated and printed in England in 1770. Barbeau-Dubourg in November of that year acknowledged the receipt of seven copies of the translation and called attention to an error.<sup>1</sup> The translation was made by Mrs. Mary Hewson, daughter of Mrs. Margaret Stevenson, at whose house, No. 7, Craven Street, Franklin resided for the most part when in London. No copy of this first English translation has been found, and, if published anonymously, it may be buried under an unrecognized title. At that time the author looked for a second London edition, enlarged the essay by more than one-half and sent the new material to Franklin, expressing the wish that it might appear in the same form as the first issue of the tract. Willing to oblige his friend Franklin did print the entire essay, but in the French language, and we are now able to clear away doubts connected with that edition. Quérard gives "Londres, 1774" and Ford "Paris, 1774" as the proper dates. The title bears the imprint: "A Londres: | Chez Becket & De Hondt, Libraires, dans le Strand, | MDCCLXXIII." Two copies are in the Pennsylvania Historical Society and an imperfect copy in the American Philosophical Society, the Library of Congress has one, and Mr. Mason possesses one.

The relations that existed between Franklin and Barbeau-Dubourg induce me to print in full the letters of the latter to Franklin to 1775. After that year, when the Frenchman had become an agent of the united colonies, his letters cease to have any literary or scientific interest. By the courtesy of the American Philosophical Society I am permitted to use those letters.

<sup>1</sup> Livingston, *Franklin and his Press at Passy*, 69.

I<sup>1</sup>

A state of the Account between The Honble. Benjamin Franklin Esqr. late agent for this colony in Great Britain and the colony.

The sum of the last Grant made by the House of Representatives to the said Franklin and concurred by the Honble. Board, being for his services at the court of Great Britain from Octo. 31st, 1770, to Octo. 31st, 1773 £ 1100 : — : —

The interest of that sum from Octo. 31st, 1773, to Octo. 31st, 1774 66 : — : —

For his services from Octo. 31st, 1773, to Octo. 31st, 1774 300 : — : —

For his Services from Octo. 31st, 1774, to the end of his Agency, being 4 months 100 : — : —

His Account of Sundry disbursements of Money in the Service of this colony 285 : — : —

In the House of Representatives, Octo. 23d, 1775, *Resolved*, That there be granted and paid out of the publick treasury of this colony to the Honble. Benja. Franklin Esqr. late agent of the House of Representatives of the said colony in Great Britain in full for his services and disbursements in his said agency from Octo. 31st, 1770, to the first day of March, 1775, when his agency determined, the sum of Eighteen hundred and fifty one pounds sterling, and that Henry Gardner Esqr. Treasurer of this colony be and he is hereby directed to wait on the said Benja. Franklin Esqr. now at Cambridge and pay the said sum to him taking his receipt for the same.

Sent up for Concurrence.

J. WARREN, *Speaker*.

In Council Octo. 23d, 1775. Read and Concurred.

PEREZ MORTON, *Deputy Secretary*.

Consented to:

JAMES OTIS

W. SEVER

B. GREENLEAF

CALEB CUSHING

J. WINTHROP

B. CHADBOURN

JOSEPH GERRISH

JEDH. FOSTER

JAMES PRESCOTT

M. FARLEY

S. HOLTEN

MOSES GILL

JABEZ FISHER

B. WHITE

JOHN WHETCOMB

<sup>1</sup> This paper is in the ms. of James Otis.

## II

(Bill at the Cockpit.)

Mr. Life for            Massachusetts Bay against Governor Hutchinson  
Dr. Franklin            son and Lieutenant Governor Oliver.

1773

10th Decr.	Order referring to a Committee Address of Assembly against Govr. Hutchinson and Lieut. Govr. Oliver together with Dr. Franklin's Letters to Lord Dartmouth thereupon	3	2	6
	Copy of Address and Letter annexed	1	10	—
	Committee Order for taking the same into Consideration on 11th Janry. 1774	2	2	6
	Summons for parties to attend on that day	—	16	8

1774

11th Janry.	Committee Order for hearing Counsel on this Matter on 29th Janry.	2	2	6
	Summons for hearing	—	16	8
29th Do.	Committee Report	2	12	6
7th Febr'y.	Duplicate of Order approving Do.	3	12	6

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16 15 10

Cl[er]ks

1 1 —

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17 16 10

## III

Massachusetts Bay

Dr. Franklin

On the Petition of the House of Representatives to his Majesty to remove Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor Oliver.

1774

Janry. 20th.	Soll[icito]rs Retaining Fee	1	1	—
	Attending Dr. Franklin at his House in Craven Street to take Instructions for Brief when after shortly stating the Nature of the Case he delivered to me a Copy of the Petition with an authentick Copy of Messrs. Hutchinson and Oliver's Letters and his own Remarks on each particular Letter and his general Observa-			

	tions on the whole and gave me directions to retain Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee	13	4
	Paid Mr. Dunning Retainer for the Petitioners	2	2 —
	Attending him	13	4
	Paid his Clerk	5	—
	Paid Mr. Lee Retainer do	2	2 —
	Paid his Clerk	5	—
	Attending him	13	4
	Perusing the above papers being about 20 Brief Sheets and Dv. <sup>1</sup> Additions to and Alterations in the Remarks and modelling the whole in the form of a Brief containing 21 Sheets which took me up two whole days	3	3 —
24th	Attending Dr. Franklin to read over and settle the Brief	13	4
	Making two Copys of the two Allegations in the Petition and Drawing a Minite of the Letters that supported them and two Copys thereof near a Brief Sheet	16	8
	Making two Copys of the Resolutions of the House of Representatives 2 Brief Sheets each	1	— —
25th	Attending at the Council Office to give Notice that I was concerned in the Petition and to enquire whether Mr. Bollan had preferred a Petition on behalf of the Council and found he had not and that if he had could not be heard on our Petition. And likewise to enquire if any further Steps were necessary to be taken by us before the Petition came on that they might be stated in our Brief and afterwards attending Dr. Franklin to acquaint him thereof	13	4
	Making two Copys of the Brief for Counsel 21 Brief Sheets each and scoring the particular Passages in the Letters that supported the Petition which took up a considerable time	10	10 —

<sup>1</sup> An uncertain contraction, which might be drawing, draughting, delivering or divers.

	Making another Copy for myself	5	5	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning with his Brief	21	—	—
	Attending him		13	4
	Paid his Clerk and Servant		7	6
	Paid Mr. Lee with his Brief	21	—	—
	Attending him		13	4
	Paid his Clerk and Servant		7	6
26th	Attending at Mr. Dunning's Chambers for upwards of an hour to get him to appoint a time for Consultation and afterwards attending at Mr. Lee's Chambers to fix him for the same		6	8
27th	Attending with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee (who is to succeed Dr. Franklin in his Agency) on Consultation with Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee and was then directed to make two Close Copys of the Bill filed by Mr. Whately against Dr. Franklin	1	6	8
	Paid Mr. Dunning on Consultation	5	5	—
	Paid Mr. Lee the like	5	5	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning's Clerk and Servant		7	6
28th	Making two Copys of the Bill for 30 each for the Counsell		10	—
29th	Attending hearing of Petition at the Cockpit which took up several hours	2	2	—
	Paid Bill at the Cockpit	17	16	10
	Making Copy of the Order		7	6
	Paid Coach hire Messengers etc. pending this Affair		13	—
		<hr/>		
		107	18	2

In Chancery

Hilary Term 1774

Whately v. Franklin.

	Attending to take Instructions to appear	6	8	
	Paid for Appearance		3	4
	Paid for Office Copy Bill	1	7	6
Janry. 31st	Paid Mr. Dunning a General Retainer for Dr. Franklin in this and all other Causes	5	5	—
	Attending him		13	4

Paid his Clerk	10	6
Paid Mr. Lee the like General Retainer	5	5 —
Attending him	13	4
Paid his Clerk	10	6

Attending Mr. Lee to advise whether proper to demurr to the Bill when he desired to have a Consultation tomorrow Morning with Mr. Dunning and some Chancery Counsel and afterward attending Mr. Jackson to read over the Bill who advised me to lay it before Mr. Sayer this Evening to consider of it and attending Mr. Sayer therewith and left the same with him that he might be prepared to meet on a Consult[atio]n with the rest of the Gentlemen at Westminster Hall and appointed all the Counsell for the Consultat[i]o[n]. All which took up from 6 o Clock in the Evening till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9

13	4
1	—

Paid Coach hire home

Feb'y 1st

Attending at Westminster Hall from 11 o'clock in the Morning till near 3 in the afternoon when Mr. Jackson Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee met and consulted together about the Question of Demurring to the Bill but Mr. Sayer being obliged to go to India House they adjourned the meeting till 9 o'clock in the Evening at Mr. Dunning's Chambers, and attending Mr. Sayer from 8 till 9 at his Chambers searching Cases and afterwards on all the Council at the Consult[atio]n from 9 till 11 when it was determined that it wo[uld] not be proper to demurr but to put in a full Answer Except to those parts of the Bill which were demurable and to insist that the Plt. has no Right to a Discovery either from whom the Dr. had the Letters or to whom he Transmitted them

1	1 —
2	2 —
2	2 —
2	2 —

Paid Mr. Jackson on Consultation

Paid Mr. Dunning the like

Paid Mr. Sayer the like

	Paid Mr. Lee the like	2	2	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning's Clerk and Servant		7	6
	Paid Coach hire to Westminster Hall and back and from Mr. Dunning's in the Evening		5	—
	Attending Deft. to take Instr[uction] for his Answer		6	8
	Do same fo: 20 and fair Copy	13	4	
12th	Attending Deft. at his House in Craven Street to read over and settle the same		6	8
	Paid Coach hire		1	—
	Fair Copy for Mr. Sayer to peruse and settle		3	4
	Paid him therewith	1	1	—
	Attending him		6	8
	Paid his Clerk		2	6
20th	Attending him by his own Appointm[e]nt and went thro' the same with him		6	8

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28 18 10

On the Petition	107	18	2
In the Cause of Whately and Franklin	28	18	10

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136 17 —

24th Janry. 1774. Recd of Dr. Franklin on Accot.

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63

Balance 73 17

Recevd this 26th Febry. 1774 of Dr. Franklin the sum of Seventy three Pounds seventeen Shillings the Balance of this Bill.

THOS. LIFE.

#### IV

Dr. Franklin                      Dr.  
In Chancery                      Trinity Term 1774

Whately v. Franklin

Ingrossing Exception to Ma[ste]rs Report  
and paid Stamp omitted in the last Bill                      2    4  
Making 4 Cops of the whole Brief of Bill

	answer Exceptions to the Answer, the Masters Report of the insufficiency of the Answer and Defts. Exc[epti]ons to the Masters Report 6 Brief Sheets each for Mr. Ambler Mr. Jackson Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee	3	—	—
	Paid Mr. Ambler with his Brief	3	3	—
	Paid his Clerk		2	6
	Paid the like to Mr. Jackson and Clerk	3	5	6
	Paid the like to Mr. Dunning and Clerk	3	5	6
	Paid the like to Mr. Sayer and Clerk	3	5	6
	Attending the above Counsel	13	4	
	Making Copy Answer, Exc[epti]ons thereto, Masters Report thereon and Exc[eptio]n to Masters Report, for the Lord Chancellor		6	8
	Attending at Lord Chancellor's House with the same		6	8
	Paid Lord Chancellor's Clerk on leaving same		5	3
Nov. 2d	Attending at Lincoln's Inn Hall on Exc[eptio]ns in the paper but they did not come on		6	8
Mich[ ] as Term 1774				
	Paid Mr. Lee with his Brief (he being out of Town when the Briefs were delivered to the other Counsel)		3	3
	Attending him		6	8
	Paid his Clerk		2	6
	Paid Mr. Ambler refreshing Fee	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Jackson the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Sayer the like	1	1	—
Nov. 11th.	Attending Exc[eptio]ns but they did not come on and paid Coach hire with papers		7	8
15th	The like		7	8
16th	The like		7	8
18th	The like		7	8
25th	The like Attendance and paid Coach hire there and back		8	8
Dec. 19th	The like and paid Coach hire there with papers		7	8

20th	The like	7	8
1775			
Jany 12th	Attending Mr. Sayer at Lincoln's Inn Hall in the Morning to advise how to act about Mr. Dunning when he directed me to wait upon him to acquaint him that the Exceptions would be in the paper Tomorrow and some days after and to know from him which of those days would be most convenient for him to attend and afterwards attending at his Chambers and he not being there followed him to the Cock-pit but the Lords being sitting could not get near him and returned back to his Chambers and was informed that he would be at Chambers in the Evening between 7 and 8 o Clock and attending from that time 'till 9 before I could see him when I begged of him to let me know which day would suit him best and he informed me that he would attend upon any day that it could be known it would certainly come on	10	6
14th	Attending Exc[eptio]ns but they did not come on. Paid co: Hire	7	8
16	The like	7	8
17th	The like and paid Coach hire there and back	8	8
	Term Fee Clerk and Sol.	10	—
	Letters and Messengers	2	—

## Hilary Term

	Paid Mr. Ambler refreshing Fee	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Jackson the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Sayer the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Lee the like	1	1	—
Mar 27th	Attending at Lincolns Inn Hall when Exc[epti]ons were part heard and paid Coach hire with papers	7	8	
	The like when Order was made and Deft. ordered to Answer 3 of the Exc[epti]ons	7	8	

1922.]

## FRANKLIN'S ACCOUNTS.

III

	Paid Court Fees	2	6
	Paid for Copy Minitts	2	
	Paid for Copy Order	4	6
	Perusing same and attending to pass it	6	8
	Attending the Register to receive back Deposit	6	8
	Paid on receiving back Deposit	5	—
	Term Fee Clerk and Soll	10	—
	Letters and Messengers	2	—
April 5	Writing a Long Letter to Dr. Franklin giving him an Account of Lord Chancel- lor's Order on the Exc[eptio]ns and de- siring his directions how to act	6	8
<hr/>			
£39 6 7			

In the House of Lords

Session 1775

## Franklin v. Whately

	Solicitors retaining Fee	I	I	—
March 22	Being informed that Dr. Franklin was gone to America Attending Mr. Lee who succeeded him in his Agency for the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay to enquire whether the Dr. had settled any thing with him relative to bringing the Cause below to a Hearing or had left any directions about my Appealing to the House of Lords or whether as it was a Cause of the Province and not of the Drs. own Mr. Lee would see me paid, when he absolutely refused, saying that the Dr. was my Client and not the Province And after- wards attending at the House of Lords to search how many Causes were unheard and to inform myself how I should act to prevent the Appeal being brought on this Session when I was advised to delay pre- ferring it 'till within a few days before the End of the Session and was informed that I must enter into a Recognizance of 200 <i>l.</i> to pay the Respondents Costs	I	I	—

Attending Mr. Dunning to consider about appealing when he advised me to do it and then informed him of the Dr's situation and that he was liable to be taken up by process of Contempt for not putting in a further Answer if he returned before the next Session of Parliament and no Petition of Appeal presented

6 8

Paid Mr. Dunning Retainer

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

Paid Mr. Lee retainer

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

Perusing the sev[era]l pleadings in the Cause by Way of Inst[ructio]n for Appeal Do. Petition of Appeal and fair Copy for Counsel

2 2 —

Paid Mr. Sayer to peruse and settle same

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

Paid Mr. Dunning to peruse and sign Pet[itio]n of Appeal

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

Paid Mr. Lee to peruse and sign Pet[itio]n of Appeal

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

For Attendance at the House of Lords on many different days to watch the Causes in hearing and as the Order on the Exc[eptio]ns was not passed and entered to advise there how to act when they directed me to search at the Registers Office on the Morning I went to Lodge the Pet[ition] to enable me to give Evidence at the House of Lords that it was not passed and entered to support an Allegation in the Pet[ition] that it was not if I was called upon and Dr[awing] and settling the Allegation with the Officers of the House of Lords

2 2 —

	Engrossing the Petit[io]n	13	4
	Paid parchment	2	3
May 24th.	Attending at the Registers to search if the Order was passed and entered and found it was not	6	8
	Attending at the House of Lords to present the Petit[io]n and waited there sev[era]l Hours in order to give Evidence at the Bar of the Order not being passed and Entered but was not called upon	2	2 —
26th	Attending at the House of Lords to get the Order made on the Petit[io]n and to enter into a Recognizance for Costs	1	1 —
	Paid for the Order	2	2 —
	Paid for the Recognizance	2	2 —
	Paid Mr. Croft his Bill	2	2 —
	Making 2 Copys of the Order and Service on Mr. Robinson the Clerk in Court and Mr. Bargrave the Soll[icitor]	1	— —
	Making 2 Copys of the Recognizance and Service on Do.	10	—
	Paid Coach hire and Expences pending this Affair	18	6
	Session Fee	1	1 —
		<hr/>	
		36	8 5
	[                      ] Whately, in Chancery	39	6 7
		<hr/>	
		75	15 —

<sup>1</sup> Total of the above Bill      75 15

Deduct the Deposit received  
back out of Court in the  
Chancery Cause

5

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70 15

<sup>1</sup> In the ms. of Thomas Life.

## V

Dr. Franklin Dr.

Hilary Term 1774

Franklin v. Whately

Febry 3d.	Drawing and Engrossing Pet[itio]n for time to answer and	4	6
	Duty paid answering Petition	5	6
	Paid Drawing up Order and Entry and Copy to enter	7	—
	Copy and Service	2	—
28th	Making 3 Close Copys of Bill fo: 30 each and 3 Close Copys of the Draft of the Answer fo: 20 each for Council	1	5 —
	Attending Mr. Jackson Mr. Sayer Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee therewith and to get a time appointed for a Consultation	1	6 8
March 2d	Dr[awing] and Engr[ossing] Petition for further time to answer and duty	4	6
	Paid answering Petition	5	6
	Paid Drawing up Order thereon and Entry and Copy to enter	7	—
	Copy and Service	2	—
	Attending Dr. Franklin Mr. Jackson and Mr. Sayer at Mr. Dunning's Chambers in order to have a Consultation upon the Draft of the Answer for an Hour and a half but Mr. Dunning did not come	6	8
	Paid Coach hire to Mr. Dunning's and back again	2	—
	5th Attending Consultation with Dr Franklin Mr. Jackson Mr. Dunning and Mr. Sayer on the Draft of Dr. Franklin's answer which lasted upwards of 2 Hours when many Alterations were made in the Draft	13	4
	Paid Mr. Jackson on Consultat[i]o[n]	2	2 —
	Paid Mr. Dunning on Do.	2	2 —
	Paid Mr. Sayer on Do.	2	2 —
	Paid Mr. Dunning's Clerk and Servant	7	6
	Paid Coach hire home	1	6
	Making fair Copy of the Answer as		

	settled by Council on the Consultation fo: 24	4 —
21st	Attending Dr. Franklin at his House in Craven Street to consider his Alterations in the Answer	6 8
23d	Attending Mr. Jackson Mr. Sayer and Mr. Dunning separately to peruse Dr. Frank- lin's Answer as settled at the Consultation and Mr. Dunning acquainted me that he had seen Mr. Lee at the York Assizes who asked him about a particular Fact being inserted in the Answer which Mr. Dunning could not then recollect and therefore referred me to him	13 4
31st	Dr[awing] and Eng[rossing] Petition for further time to answer until the first day of next Easter Term and duty	4 6
	Paid answering Pet[itio]n	5 6
	Paid Dr[awing] up Order and Entry and Copy to enter	7 —
	Copy and Services	2 —
	Paid Mr. Wainwright signing Consent to pray no further time	3 4
April 8th	Attending Mr. Lee to Peruse and Consult on Dr. Franklin's Answer when he shewed me an Alteration he had made in it and afterwards on Dr. Franklin to acquaint him thereof when he said he could very safely swear it as altered and afterwards Attending Mr. Sayer to acquaint him thereof	6 8
	Paid Mr. Lee his Consultation Fee	2 2 —
	Paid Coach hire to Mr. Lee's and back again it being a rainy day	2 —
	Engr[ossing] Answer fo: 24	8 —
	Paid for Parchment and Stamps for Do.	3 8
19th	Attending Dr. Franklin in the Morning to read over his Answer and in the after- noon to the Publick Office to swear it	6 8
	Paid for Oath	1 —
	Abbreviating Bill and Answer fo: 54	9 —
	Making fair Copy thereof 5 Brief Sheets	12 6
	Term Fee Clerk and Soll[icitor]	10 —
	Letters and Messengers	2 —

## Trinity Term 1774

Making Copy of Answer for Dr. Franklin	4	—
Paid for Office Copy Exc[epti]ons to Defts. Answer fo: 10 and duty	9	2
Making 2 fair Copys thereof one for Dr. Franklin and the other for Mr. Sayer	3	4
Perusing Bill Answer and Exc[epti]ons and making Copy of the Interr part of the Bill and scoring the Passages in the Bill and Exc[epti]ons and marking the Passages in the Answer relating thereto	10	6
Paid Mr. Sayer to argue Exc[epti]ons before the Master	I	I —
Attending him	6	8
Paid his Clerk	2	6
Attending warrant to argue Exc[epti]ons when 9 Exc[epti]ons were allowed	6	8
Paid for Masters Report of Insufficiency of Answer	I	6
Close Copy	I	—
Dr[awing] Exc[epti]ons to Masters Report and fair Copy for Counsel	7	8
Paid Mr. Sayer to sign Exc[epti]ons	10	6
Attending him	6	8
Paid Deposit Money on leaving Exception to Master's Report with the Register	5	— —
Attending to leave Exc[epti]on at the Register Office and to get a Certificate thereof and to pay Deposit Money	6	8
Making 3 fair Copys of Bill Answer and Exc[epti]ons for Council 5 Brief Sheets each	I	7 6
Term Fee Clerk and Soll[icito]r	10	—
Letters and Messengers	2	—
<hr/>		
Total of the above Bill	£31	13 10
Paid the Doorkeepers and Messengers Fees on hearing the Petition of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay at the Cockpit omitted in the former Bill	I	II 6
<hr/>		
	£33	5 4

Received August 12th, 1774, of Dr. Franklin the sum of Thirty three Pounds five Shillings and four pence the Contents of the above Bill for Mr. Life.

PHILIP MORSHEAD  
*Agent to Mr. Life.*

VI<sup>1</sup>

Account of Money paid by B. Franklin in the Service of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay

	Sterling
To Mr. Life, Sollicitor, his first Bill	£136 17 0
To Ditto his second Bill	33 5 4
To Ditto his third Bill	70 15 0
To Mr. Dunning (Counsellor) a special Fee	10 10 0
To Charles Say, Printer	12 5 0
To William Strahan, Do.	16 12 0
To Messengers of the Board of Trade, a Guinea Yearly at Christmas	5 5 0
	<hr/>
	£285 9 4

Some other small Sums were disburs'd for Printing, Coach and Chair Hire, etc., of which I have no Account.

## VII

Mr. Massie Dr. to C. Say.

1774  
March 10

To Paper and Printing An Account of the Trade between Ireland and London, One Sheet Small Pica Demy Folio No. 1000	£3 4 —
Do. An Account of the Trade between New England and London, Part new set, and the rest over-run from the foregoing.	
Number the same	2 9 —
Do. Eight Hundred Demy Octavo Bills relative to the above Accounts	— 6 —

<sup>1</sup> In ms. of Franklin.

	31	Do. Letter to the Principal Landholders, etc. No. 8. One Sheet sm. Pica Demy Fol. No. 1000	3	4	—
		Do. Letter to the Principal Landholders, etc. No. 9. A Demy Long Prim. Quarto Page printed by itself. No. 100	—	5	—
March	31	{ Do. Letters to the Principal Landholders, etc. No. 9 and 10. printed together on two Demy Quarto Pages. No. 1800	1	1	—
April	7				
April	14.	Do. Letter to the Principal Landholders, etc. No. 11, two Long Prim. Quarto Pages perfect on Double Demy No. 4000	1	16	—
			<hr/>		
			£12	5	—

Ave Maria Lane, 25 April, 1774. Recd.  
of J. Massie Twelve Pounds five Shillings  
being the full Contents of the Above Bill  
and for which Sum under a Duplicate of  
said Bill I have this Day given another  
Receipt of the same Tenor with this.

C. SAY.

Witness, J. WRAYE.

26 April, 1774. Received of Benjamin  
Franklin Esqr. Twelve Pounds Five Shill-  
ings being the full Contents of the above  
Bill. £12:5:0

J: MASSIE.

### VIII

Dr. Franklin                      To Will: Strahan.

1772					
Decr.		Sheet of Rules, 2 Reams	PL <sup>1</sup>	2	2 —
		Two Reams of Writing Medium Paper for Do.	PL	2	8 —
		Petit Code de la Raison Humaine 4 sheets			
		No. 500, @ 14s	PL	2	16 —
		Four Reams of Paper for Do.	PL	3	— —
		Stitching Do. 50 of which in marble Paper	PL	1	5 —

<sup>1</sup> In ms. of Franklin for Philadelphia Library Company.

1922.]

## FRANKLIN'S ACCOUNTS.

119

1773				
February	Votes of Freeholders of Boston, 3½ sheets, No. 500 @ 14s	2 9 —		
	3½ Reams of Paper for Do Massachusetts <sup>1</sup>	2 9 —		
June and September	Two Erratas for Petit Code, No. 500 with Paper	PL 15 —		
1772	Every Man his own Vermin Killer	} charged to W. F. Augt. 24: 1772	1 6	
August 24	Georgical Essays, 4 vols sewed		10 —	
	Young's Eastern Tour, 4 vols		1 4 —	
	Balance due on account of the Philadel- phia Library Company		91 14 6	
			<hr/>	
			£110 14 —	
	True State of Proceedings <sup>1</sup> Massachu- setts <sup>1</sup>		11 14	
			<hr/>	
			122 8	

Received Sepr. 13, 1774, of Benj. Frank-  
lin Esqr. the Contents of the above Bill  
in full.

WILL: STRAHAN

[On the reverse.]

Books sent to the Philadelphia Library Company

July, 1772, Entered to Ly. Co.

April, 1773

102:18: 6

Discount on Do. 5 per Ct. 5: 3: 0 97:15: 6

Do. sent Do. February, 1774, Entd.

Ly Co.

98:18: 0

Discount on Do. Apl. 7.

1774

4:19: 0 93:19: 0

Received on acct. June 11, 1772

191:14: 6

100: 0: 0

Balance

£91:14: 6

<sup>1</sup> In MS. of Franklin.

## IX

Printed for Dr. Franklin By Will: Strahan		
1774	True State of the proceedings respecting Massachusetts Bay,	<i>L s d</i>
May	6 sheets, No. 500, @ £1:4:0	7: 4: 0
	For 6 Reams of Paper for Do. @ 12s.	3:12: 0
	For Title to Do. No. 350, with Paper <sup>1</sup>	0:18: 0
		<hr/>
		£11:14: 0

*To the Principal LANDHOLDERS of ENGLAND*

AND

*To the Principal CITIZENS of LONDON.*

GENTLEMEN,

No. VIII.

1. **S**UCH of ye as remember my general Propositions, or First Principles, relating to Colonies, (published in the Year 1761) may easily believe that the British Colonies in North-America will rise to Independency and Empire *soon enough*, without our doing any thing to hasten their Growth; for in less than a Hundred and Fifty Years they have cleared vast Tracts of Land, on a widely extended and fertile Continent; and they have so well adapted their several Sorts of Culture and Product to their widely differing Climates, that they form a System of Maritime Trade among themselves; in which great Work they have been so far aided by the Accession of oppressed or distressed People from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, France, and other Parts of Europe, that partly by Emigrants and partly by natural Increase, they are become respectable for Number; and they are so inured to Toil and Danger by the *Plough*, the *Axe*, the *Sail*, and the *Musket*, that I do not see how any thing less than the Ruin of this Kingdom can be the ultimate Consequence of our either taking hostile Measures against any of those Colonies, or endeavouring to introduce new fangled Politics among them.

2. For according to the best Information I have been able to obtain, there now are about Two Millions of Free People in all those Colonies; and most of them breathe in Air so favourable to

<sup>1</sup> This would indicate that 150 copies of the tract were issued without a title-page.

the Human Species, that they are reckoned, upon a general Average, to double their Numbers every Twenty-five Years; so that if no more oppressed or distressed People go from Europe to settle among them, Fifty Years will, by the common Course of Nature, be sufficient to make them equal in Number to the People of Great-Britain; and, if Government doth not very soon take wise and honest Courses, less than Half Fifty Years will bring those Colonies to an Equality with this Kingdom; for ruinous Councils and Measures have already impoverished and distressed this Nation in such a Manner, that our Husbandmen, Manufacturers, and Seamen, leave us by Ship Loads, without a *Lewis the Fourteenth*, or a *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, to drive them abroad; and the Prospect of nothing but Poverty and Misery in this Country, prevents the Generality of suffering People from much caring whether they *do* or *do not* leave any of their own Flesh and Blood to suffer after them; so that it may well be doubted whether or not there will be Four Millions of People in this Kingdom, Twenty Years hence, if wise and honest courses are not taken.

3. But of such horrid Devastation, and of many other important Matters, every Man will be better able to judge for himself, when the Causes of hostile Proceedings between the Mother-Country and her Colonies, as well as the Tendency of the Measures now taking by Parliament, have been duly considered; for there appears to me to be such a Mixture of Right and Wrong on each Side of the Question, that he who undertakes to justify, or to condemn, all that hath been done by either, will only make *bad, worse*, and may prevent the curing of a Disease that doth not yet seem to be incurable; neither would this Kingdom and those Colonies now have been impoverished and distracted by any such Disease, if the late Mr. George Grenville had either known how to make a proper Use of my Colony-Propositions, or had desired to know what I could have told him for the common Good of both; but he, and several other Ministers affected to hold me and my Arguments in great Contempt, though, upon Twenty different Occasions, they have sat like chidden Children to hear what I had got to tell them; and now, the whole Nation may with Sorrow read in *new Malt and Beer Taxes*, in *American Disputes*, in *Emigrations to America*, and in *the Faces of half-starved Men, Women, and Children*, the HONESTY and ABILITY of those Ministers.

4. The first Cause of Misunderstanding between Great-Britain and the British North-American Colonies, was, the laying of a Tax upon them, towards paying the Charges of Government in this Kingdom; which Measure always appeared to me to be as constitutional as it is for the King to make War or Peace; but, on

the other Hand, I must observe that our Northern Colonies seem to me to have such Objections against that sort of Taxation, as cannot be removed otherwise than by the British Parliament laying a proportionable Tax or Taxes, for the like Purpose, upon the People of Ireland; because our North-American Colonies defray the Charges of their respective Governments, which is all that the People of Ireland can be said to do; for they do not maintain Twelve Thousand regular Forces, to serve or help Great-Britain, but to prevent such Massacres of Protestants by Papists as there were in the last Century; so that I cannot discover any Reason why our Northern Colonies should contribute towards the Charges of British Government, until the People of Ireland proportionably contribute for the same Purpose; although the Right of so taxing both, or either, doth, and constitutionally must, belong to the Parliament of Great-Britain.

5. Now if these Premises are well founded, it will from them follow, that the first Cause of Misunderstanding between Great-Britain and the British North-American Colonies, was such a Partiality in Taxation towards the Charges of British Government, as those Colonies might well think oppressive; and the Second Cause of Misunderstanding appears to me to be the sending into those Colonies a considerable Body of regular Land Forces; from which Measure nothing could reasonably be inferred but an Intention, in British Government, to levy the Tax that had been so partially laid; of which there was such Proof given last Year, by a new Tea-Tax Act for the British American Colonies, that I am not surprized to hear of the Outrages since committed in New-England; neither did I imagine that Government would have been desirous to take any more Colony Physic, after it had seen a Necessity for *unsaying* and *undoing* so much of what it had *said* and *done*; more especially when I considered how that great Statesman and General, King George the First, wisely receded from a wrong Measure taken about Irish Halfpence, by sending over to Ireland such a Lord Lieutenant as he thought most capable of bringing the People to Temper again.

6. For the Taxes in Dispute have already done more Mischief to this Kingdom than can soon be repaired; and they bear such a trifling Proportion to the Charges of British Government, that I cannot help thinking there is some *farther Meaning*, by running such Lengths, than the getting of such pitiful Aid; because our American Colonies take about one Half of all the British Woollen, Linen, Silk, Cotton, Leather, Iron, Copper, Brass, Pewter, Glass, &c. Manufactures we export; and they pay for them in such a Variety of Materials for Manfactury, or of Provisions for Home

Consumption and Re-exportation, that they enable this Nation to pay Half its present Taxes, though they do not directly contribute any Thing by Way of Taxes to the Support of British Government: for the Exports from all Trading Countries are to the Nations which inhabit them, what Estates or Incomes are to Private Men; and if ruinous Councils and Measures deprive us of our American Colonies, a few Years will shew that they have deprived us of a Market for Half of all the Woollen and other Manufactures we yearly export; and they who have brewed so much Sorrow for Millions, will *then feel*, if they cannot now see, that Half of the Land Rents, Incomes, Public Revenues, and Naval Power of this Kingdom are derived from those very Colonies.

7. Certainly, a Prince who is stiled *Lord of the British Seas*, should make the Preservation of British Naval Power the first Object of his Attention; for it is not English Oak, nor Iron Guns, but English Seamen, who, in the last War, adorned the Crown with Trophies of Victory and Naval Empire; so that a fine Shew of Ships at Spithead, and a great Hurly-burly in our Dock-yards, with a double diligent First Lord of the Admiralty to inspect them, will all prove a mere Farce, if a longer Perseverance in ruinous Councils and Measures robs us of Half the English Seamen necessary to *steer, load and fire*: I therefore should like to know what Dispatches the French and Spanish Ambassadors have sent to their respective Courts, about Lord Sandwich's labouring to keep up our Naval Power, and Lord North's labouring to pull it down; for such *doing and undoing* is of far greater importance to those Courts, than the Loss of Fifty British Line of Battle Ships would be; because we could repair the Loss of Fifty Men of War, as the French several Times have done; but if we lose American Colony Employment for our Shipping, we lose Half of our present Nurseries for Seamen; and add to the Wealth and Naval Power of other Nations, all that ruinous Councils and Measures take from the Wealth and Naval Power of Great-Britain.

8. And, to shew that nothing less than Half of our Naval Power is at Stake, I must begin with saying that I lately computed (by such Accounts as are printed on the Two annexed Sheets) the Tonnage of all the Goods imported from each Country or Colony, into the Port of London, in One Year, just before our North-American Troubles begun; in which Computations, I have separated the Quantities of Corn, and other Staple Commodities of England, from the rest of the Imports; because there is no other Want of such Provisions in England than what ruinous Councils and Measures have brought upon us; and therefore the former will cease when the latter end; so that no Man who knows what *is*, and

what *is not*, a Source of Naval Power, can reckon the Importation of Corn, Beef, Pork, Butter, &c. into England, a Nursery for English Seamen; though the Exportation of such Commodities was, from the glorious Revolution in 1688 to the Death of the good Mr. Pelham, a very considerable Source of British Naval Power and Wealth also; of which there needs no other Proof than what the truly patriotic Sir Stephen-Theodore Janssen, Bart. lately caused to be printed, *to open the Eyes of the People*; for it appears by the Account so printed that the Medium Yearly Quantity of English Corn exported to all Countries, was full 750,000 Quarters, for Five Years, from 1744 to 1748.

9. Now if we reckon Five Quarters of Corn to make One Ton, such an Export of English Corn will amount to no less than One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Tons *per Annum*; and the carrying of it abroad would freight Fifteen Hundred Sail of British Ships, of One Hundred Tons Burthen each; for the great King William and his wise Parliament did effectually secure to our own Seamen and Shipping this doubly important Employment, by not allowing any bounty on English Corn exported in Foreign Shipping, nor even in British Shipping, if the Master and Two Thirds of the Seamen were not British Subjects; so that when wise Councils prevail, the Exportation of English Corn to all Countries may justly be reckoned to employ and maintain, *at the Expence of other Nations*, about Five Thousand English Seamen, and Seventy-five Thousand Tons of English-built Shipping; but those artificial Scarcities which were introduced into England under the *Auspices* of William Pitt, Esq; now Earl of Chatham, have robbed our Seamen and Shipping of all that Employment, and in effect destroyed One Tenth Part of the Royal Navy; over and above the Loss of One Million Sterling a Year to the whole Nation; for the prime Cost, Freight, and Merchants Profits, on such an Exportation of English Corn, even in Times of great Plenty, could not yearly amount to a less Sum.

10. Such, with respect to national Wealth, and naval Power, have already been the Effects of those ruinous Councils and Measures which have beggared or driven abroad so many People; and when the remaining Part of British naval Power is estimated, I believe that One Half of it will be found to stand upon an American Foundation; but, to prevent this Information from coming too late, I must here insert only the Totals of my Computations of Tonnage, without mentioning what I have to offer in Support of them; for if I had not been writing or calculating till near Twelve o'Clock last Night, and up again at Three this Morning, the following Abstracts of Tonnage could not have been printed To-day;

but the Inspector-general, &c. of the Exports, Imports, and Shipping, have all the particular Accounts necessary for the Examination of these Abstracts; and as to the Errors in the printed Bills of Entry, I do not believe it can be made appear that they amount to Ten *per Cent.* upon the whole; neither are the Inspector-general's Computations of Value, to be much regarded, if he continues to estimate the yearly Imports from Hudson's Bay at £.12,000 a Year, when those Imports sell for above £.20,000 a Year, without the Drawbacks of Duty. See the Report on that Trade, Anno 1749.

11. But to remove all Doubts concerning these Matters, so far as it is in my Power to remove them, I think it necessary to say, that no Endeavours of mine have been, or will be wanting, to get such Particulars stated and printed as will enable the Merchants of London to determine for themselves, whether my Computations *are*, or *are not*, in Substance true; for as to Exactness, in such a Variety of complicated Affairs, they very well know it is not to be expected; neither are these Abstracts so near the Truth as I can bring them, when I have got proper Information of several Things about which I now am at a Loss; and in relation to the Principle, or Foundation, upon which these Abstracts are formed, it is necessary to previously say, that 50 Tons of Goods exported to, or imported from, East-India; 100 Tons exported to, or imported from, the British American Colonies; and 200 Tons of Goods exported to, or imported from, other Countries in Europe, do equally contribute towards the Support of British naval Power; the Reason of which is, that four Voyages may, upon an Average, be made to other Parts of Europe, while one Voyage is making to British America; and two American Voyages may be made while one is making to East-India; so that the real Tonnage must be halved or doubled accordingly; but this Rule cannot so easily be applied to our own Coast Trade; and therefore I shall reckon nine Voyages for a Year's Employment; leaving the other Three Months for Repairs, Delays by contrary Winds, &c.

*Yearly European, Asiatic, and African Employment  
and Maintenance for British Shipping.*

	Tonnage No. Tons	Seamen Number
Coals, exported from England to other Countries, Two Thirds of the whole		6,000
——— carried Coastwise, Two Thirds of the whole		2,100
Coasting Trade and Coast Fisheries, Two Thirds of the whole		4,000
Irish and Foreign European Trade, for Imports specified in the printed Bills of London Entries — —	85,280	
Ditto not so specified	6,300	
	91,580	
Deduct for Goods imported by Foreign Shipping into the Port of London — — — — —	18,000	
Total Tonnage of Foreign European Imports to London, in British Shipping, is — — —	73,580	
Turkey ditto — — —	851	
East-India ditto — — —	10,000	
Africa, Madeira, and Canary Islands, ditto —	660	
Total Tonnage of foreign Goods imported from all Coun- tries excepting British America — — —	85,091	
But to bring this Tonnage upon an Equality, <i>as to naval Power</i> , with British American Tonnage, 10,000 Tons are to be added for East-India, and 36,790 deducted from Europe; so the Total is less by — — —	26,790	
And there remain for the constant Employment and Main- tenance of British Seamen Tons	58,301	

*Yearly British American Colony Employment for  
Shipping, from and to the Port of LONDON.*

British American Imports specified in the printed Bills of Entry — — — — —	93,464
Masts, Yards, and Bowsprits from <i>New-England</i> , for the <i>Royal Navy</i> , about 5,000 Tons yearly, and about 2,000 Tons of Timber for Sale; neither of them specified in the printed Bills — — — — —	7,000
Tonnage for the constant Employment and Maintenance of Seamen is — — — — —	100,464

Now, in order to determine how far these differing Quan-  
tities of trading Shipping respectively contribute towards  
the Support of British naval Power, it will be necessary  
to consider what Number of Seamen the same will

severally employ and maintain all the Year round; and, for want of better Information, I shall at present reckon upon Seven Men and Boys for every Hundred Tons of Shipping; at which Estimation 58,301 Tons will require, of Men and Boys — — — — —	4,081
Together making — — — — — Men	16,181
But of this Number there are employed and maintained by the Freight of 31,414 Tons of British American Com- modities yearly re-exported from London, about — }	881
So that the Port of London's Proportion of home and foreign European, &c. Employment for British Seamen }	15,300
will require — — — — —	
And the Port of London's Proportion of British American }	
Employment, at the same Rate, will require — — }	7,028

To which there are to be added Two Thirds of all the Seamen employed by the British American Colonies, in their Whale, Cod, and other Fisheries; in trading between Port and Port in North-America; in trading with the British and Foreign West-India, Sugar Colonies, and the Spanish Settlements; in carrying Salt Cod, Wheat, Rice, Timber, Lumber, &c. to Italy, Spain, Portugal, Flanders, Holland, Germany, and Ireland; to which last Country, I have been credibly informed, they yearly import above Twenty Thousand Hogsheads of Flax Seed; and I have Reason to believe that they employ Two Hundred Sail of Ships, both Winter and Summer, in taking Whales of one Sort or other.

All which Matters and Things being duly considered, I still am of Opinion that full one Half of the Naval Power, Wealth, &c, of Great Britain, do stand upon an American Foundation.

28 March, 1774.

J. MASSIE.

N. B. Some Copies of this Third Sheet will be left at New Lloyd's Coffee-House, and at the London Tavern, for Perusal.

#### LETTERS OF BARBEU-DUBOURG TO FRANKLIN.

A PARIS ce 8e May 1768.

Monsieur: — Je suis très sensible à l'honneur de votre souvenir et à tant et de si gracieux témoignages de votre bienveillance. Dès le lendemain de votre trop prompt départ, je reçus par le canal d'un de vos amis le traité de le petite vérole de M. Dimsdale <sup>1</sup> qui me fit un plaisir singulier; j'avois toujours regardé le méthode échauffante: et la méthode rafraichissante, de la manière qu'on l'entend couramment, comme deux systèmes opposés également

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Dimsdale, whose *Present Method for Inoculating for the Small-Pox* reached a fifth edition, London, 1769.

suspects, également dangereux, et j'avois toujours cherché à tenir le plus juste milieu entre les deux, or je le trouve précisément dans la nouvelle méthode rafraichissante, qu'il ne font pas confondre avec l'ancienne, ou antiphlogistique comme on l'appelloit, et que ne consistant que dans les saignées reiterées, la diète rigide, le petit lait, l'orgeat, et autres semblables boissons auroit été mieux nommé affoiblissante, au lieu que la nouvelle méthode rafraichissante consistant principalement dans l'admission de l'air frais et pur, mérite véritablement d'être appelée tonique ou fortifiante à plus juste titre que le méthode échauffante et incendiaire des cordiaux et des alexipharmaques. Je suis étonné que l'on n'ait pas fait peser cette observation en l'honneur de la nouvelle méthode, car on auroit tort de croire que les dénominations soient sans conséquence pour le fonds des choses que l'on a à propos au public. C'est ce que votre exemple, Monsieur, doit bien faire sentir à ces Messieurs. quel modèle admirable de ménagement de termes vous leur donnez dans les papiers périodiques dont vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer un exemplaire. vos amis seront très contents que vous les ayez traités de tous et abandonnés comme tels, et ce ne sera pas à leurs dépens que le Public rira, mais aux dépens de leurs adversaires que vous n'avez eu garde de traiter de sots, mais à qui vous faites sentir leur sotise à ne pouvoir la méconnoître euxmêmes et à être forcés d'en convenir, toutes fois qu'on leur présentera votre petit miroir. Je me suis empressé de faire traduire et ces papiers et votre précédent interrogatoire (ou examination), pour en regaler mes compatriots, et le tout, sera imprimé successivement dans les Ephémérides du Citoyen, en commençant le mois prochain, et quoiqu'on puisse bien s'en rapporter au traducteur que s'en est chargé, je n'en laisse rien mettre sous presse sans m'assurer par moi même de son exactitude autant qu'il est en moi, je suis trop jaloux de cet objet. J'en avois cependant fait de vive voix un croquis grossier de traduction dans des assemblées respectables chez M. le Marquis de Mirabaud, mais seulement par préliminaire, et avec de bonnes protestations contre le tort que feroit à l'ouvrage un jugement précipité sur une esquisse si informe de traduction. J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser cy jointe la petite explication que vous avez la bonté de me demander de ma carte chronographique, c'est changer des armes de cuivre contre des armes d'or que de troquer ainsi avec vous, c'est faire comme fit Diomède avec Glaucus, et je rougis de mon rôle, car l'avantage étoit tout du côté du Héros dans l'ancien exemple, et c'est icy le contraire. J'ai reçu avec reconnoissance et vu avec plaisir la carte biographique de M. Priestley qui est effective-

ment construite presque sur les mêmes principes que la mienne sans plagiat de part ni d'autre, car je ne prétens point me prévaloir de la date. Je connoissoit peu les noix *Walnut*, et point du tout les *hickory*, et je vous suis extrêmement obligé d'avoir bien voulu m'en envoyer; puissions nous quelque jour en manger des fruits icy ensemble que je les trouverois délicieux en pareil cas. Tant de faveurs de votre part m'enhardissent à vous demander encore une grace, c'est de savoir si la liberté de la presse est assez entière soit à Londres ou à Philadelphie, pour qu'on pût y faire imprimer un ouvrage hardi de pur Déisme, et si en supposant que cette liberté ait lieu, vous me permettriez de vous le faire passer et de le mettre sous votre protection. M<sup>elles</sup> Basseporte et Biheron vous remercient de l'honneur de votre souvenir et vous font mille complimens chacune, et ma femme au moins deux mille pour sa part. Si vous avez occasion de voir M. Pringle, voudrez vous bien lui présenter mes très humbles civilités. Je suis avec une estime distinguée et une considération respectueuse, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

DUBOURG.<sup>1</sup>

[1770 ?]<sup>2</sup>

Il est arrivé icy depuis environ un mois un Abbé qui a été Professeur de Philosophie à Perpignan, et que l'on certifie qui a guéri radicalement six paralytiques par le moyen de l'électricité. Les Magistrats l'ayant adressé à la faculté de Médecine pour constater le succès des nouvelles expériences qu'il devoit faire icy, elle nomme à cet [*torn*] membres du nombre des quels je suis. il a commencé à élec[triser trois] malades depuis 15 jours, le 1<sup>er</sup> des trois s'en trouve très bien et les progrès sont considérables d'un jour à l'autre. les 2 autres n'ont qu'à s'en louer jusqu'icy mais les progrès sont lents. nous dressons chaque jour une espèce de procès verbal dont je vous ferai part à la fin, au moins si cela tourne bien. il ne leur fait recevoir aucune sorte de commotion, il se contente de leur faire recevoir la matière électrique par le moyen d'une chaine de fer attachée au côté sain. il joint à cela avec un air de mystère quelques petits secours

<sup>1</sup> See *Writings* (Smyth), v. 152, where Franklin errs in the date of Barbeau-Dubourg's letter.

<sup>2</sup> A fragment without date. If the opening paragraph refers to Abbé Sans' first appearance in Paris that would fix the year in 1770. The volume by Sans, *Guérison de la paralysie par l'électricité*, was published by Cailleau, Paris, 1772.

appropriés au mal. au reste il paroît plutôt un bon homme qu'un génie transcendant. il vous honore sur votre renommée, et connoît peu vos [*torn*] mais il va se mettre à les étudier.

Un jeune homme de mérite et de talent peu communs m'a prié de vous consulter sur l'Amérique et sur peu honneur rendu à Newton. je prens la liberté de joindre icy sa petite note et vous répons qu'il ne fera point mauvais usage de vos instructions, c'est un poète philosophe qui à autant de goût que de feu.

[*torn*] envoyer par la 1<sup>e</sup> occasion les nouveaux volumes des [Ephémérid]es du citoyen, mais il ne m'est pas possible de les inserer dans ce paquet. je tâcherai d'y joindre quelques autres nouveautés, s'il y en a qui en vaillent la peine.

Le paquet déposé chez MM. Dilly de la part de M. Rush ne m'est point encore parvenu. j'espère cependant pourvoir l'en faire bientôt retirer par un ami, car j'ai grande impatience de le voir.

Quant au lettres et petits paquets comme celui-icy, on m'a assuré que nous pouvions moyennant l'adresse cy jointe ne vous en pas gêner de part et d'autre, quelque fréquente que dût être notre correspondance; c'est à mon confrère M. Poissonier que j'ai cette obligation, et il me flatte même que nous pourrions continuer ainsi d'un hémisphère à l'autre, [avec] la même franchise.

J'ai mille complimens à vous faire de tous ceux qui ont eu l'honneur de vous connoître icy, pour moi je ne vous en offre que pour M<sup>r</sup> Pringle, votre digne et respectable ami, qui j'honore de toute mon âme. S'il m'eût possible de passer dans votre isle, j'aurois eu bien à cœur d'être présenté de votre main à M<sup>r</sup> Maty dont vous me faits l'honneur de me parler, regrettant bien de n'avoir pas eu le plaisir de le vois lorsqu'il est venu en France.

Je suis avec un sincère et respectueux attachement, Monsieur et cher Ami, Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

A PARIS ce 25<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1770.

Monsieur et cher Ami: — J'ai reçu d'abord deux, puis cinq exemplaires de la traduction que vous avez daigné faire faire de mon petit Code, et je ne puis assez vous en remercier. il est si bien rendu en Anglois qu'on auroit pu facilement en faire passer la version pour un original, et il est imprimé tout au mieux. [Il y a une fa]ute bien remarquable mais sans conséquence. c'est à la page 7<sup>e</sup> où il [*illegible*] fi pour *second*, c'est à dire douzième pour deuxième. Je suis très flatté du suffrage de vos dignes amis, un petit nombre de personnes icy l'ont également goûté,

mais en général il n'y a pas fait une grande sensation. cela de n'avoir pas eu le plaisir de le voir lorsqu'il est venu en France. viendra peut-être, et puisqu'on veut m'honorer d'une 2<sup>e</sup> édition à Londres, je crois que j'en risquerai une aussi à Paris, l'encouragement que vous m'avez donné m'ayant fait faire de nouveaux efforts pour l'améliorer autant qu'il est en moi. je l'ai presque tout refondu et étendu de 33 articles jusqu'à 51, comme vous verrez par la copie que j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer cy-jointe, et que je sou mets à votre révision.

Si ma respectable Traductrice ne dédaigne pas de s'amuser à faire passer cette addition en votre langue, je vous serai fort obligé de vouloir m'en envoyer quelques exemplaires comme de la 1<sup>re</sup> édition. et si j'osois vous prier d'en faire remettre aussi un à Mademoiselle Pitt, sœur du Comte de Chatain, et qui est où a été Bournère de la Princesse de Galles. cette Demoiselle m'a honoré de ses bontés et de sa confiance, surtout lors de son dernier séjour en France, et j'en ai encore eu des témoignages signales depuis son retour en Angleterre; mais j'ai été si confus d'une lettre très m[auss]ade qu'on me poussa à lui écrire vers le commencement de la dernière guerre que je n'ai plus osé cultiver une connoissance si précieuse à tant de titres. je ne sais si vous la connoissez personnellement, mais je doute fort que son frère puisse avoir plus d'esprit.

A l'égard de mes recherches sur nos Paris et nos Magistrats, comme on auroit eu de la peine à en faire entrer l'édition de chez vous icy, je l'ai envoyée en endroit où les difficultés seront moindres, quoique trop grandes encore; et cela après avoir vainement sollicité la permission de le faire imprimer icy. je ne vous importunerai donc point à ce sujet, je vous prierai seulement d'en agréer un exemplaire.

Mais je me reserve à mettre votre bienveillance à une autre épreuve. j'ai travaillé à des momens perdus à un digeste de l'humanité, ou commentaire du Code, sous le nom de M. Tone de Philadelphie, il sera écrit un peu plus longuement et plus negligemment, mais j'espère qu'il pourra encore interesser par l'ordre et le développement des matières, et j'ai bien à cœur de pouvoir vous l'envoyer avant votre départ dont le seule pensée me fait frémir, et gémir de ne pouvoir vous suivre en un pays, où, grâce à vous principalement, on a bientôt secoué tous les préjugés de notre vieil hémisphère, et où nos Neveux pourroient bien voir un jour le siège de l'empire Britannique et le foyer de la raison universelle.

Sans vanité, je vous dirai par occasion qu'il y a icy 2 ou 3 sorbonistes qui me traitent souvent de demi Quaker, quoique je

rende le pain béni à mon tour que je tapisse le devant de ma porte à la fête Dieu, et que j'ôte mon chapeau presque à tous prêtres et moines.

On nous flatte que nous n'aurons pointe de guerre avec vous. je vous proteste que j'en suis fort aise. Louis 14 reconnut en mourant qu'il avoit trop aimé la guerre, pour moi, si peu qu'on l'aime, je trouve toujours que c'est trop.

Je vous rends grâces du bon accueil que vous avez fait à notre ami M. Frey, il n'a pas repassé par Paris, mais il m'a donné de ses nouvelles. et il regrette beaucoup de n'avoir pu séjourner plus longtems à Londres; et moi je suis desolé de ne pouvoir pas y faire le moindre voyage, soyez sûr qu'il faut que les entraves qui me retiennent soient bien fortes après votre gracieuse invitation à me procurer la facilité de loger à portée de vous, et de jouer à toute heure d'un commerce dont je sens tout le prix. ma femme vous assure qu'il ne seroit pas moins délicieux pour elle, quoiqu'elle ait bien de la peine à revenir de l'éloigner qu'on lui a inspiré pour tout ce qui est retranché de la s[ainte] communion Romaine.

Apropos de cela, nous avons en France une petite innovation qui puis s'étendre loin; c'est la liberté de conscience dans une villotte naissante. je crois qu'on en est redevable au Duc de Choiseul, il ne sera pas toujours en place, mais si comme je l'espère, on se trouve bien de cet essaye et que la raison continue à faire des progrès, cet arrangement sera difficile à renverser, grands et petits réclameraient de toutes leurs forces. je joins icy un extrait de lettre à ce sujet.

A PARIS le 27<sup>e</sup> May, 1771.

Monsieur, oserois-je encore ajouter, et cher Ami?

Il y a bientôt huit mois que vous ne m'avez honoré de vos nouvelles. je cherche à me flatter que ce n'est que faute d'occasions; mais je crains de me faire illusion à cet égard. attendu le grand nombre d'Anglois qui viennent successivement en France, aurois-je eu le malheur de vous déplaire en quelque chose? tandis qu'il n'y a personne au monde de qui j'ambitionne davantage l'estime et l'affection. j'avoue que de mon côté, il y a aussi 5 à 6 mois que je ne vous ai donné le moindre signe de vie et d'attachement, mais vous savez quelle est ma position, mon quartier écarté, et d'ailleurs mes compatriots voyagent beaucoup moins que les vôtres. repartirez-vous donc pour l'Amérique sans nous dire le plus petit adieu? ne conserverez-vous au delà des mers aucun souvenir de quelque'un qui vous est si attaché, qui regarde comme le vrai

paradis terrestre le climat que vous choisissez pour votre séjour, où vous avez provigné toutes les sciences et toutes les vertus, et où il se transplanteroit volontiers s'il étoit plus jeune, pour y recevoir de vous des leçons dans tous les genres sur les rives du Skuilkil et de la Delaware.

Les volumes des Ephémérides du citoyen<sup>1</sup> longtems retardés par les entraves ordinaire de la librairie de ce pays cy, ont reparu près à près, et en voila 9 depuis 5 mois, dont j'æ vous adresse à la fois un exemplaire pour M. Rush, independamment du votre. ce qui fait 18 volumes en tout. on nous fait espérer que les autres se succéderont rapidement, et j'ai renouvelé votre souscription à cet effet.

Je comptois pouvoir vous envoyer par le même occasion mon Manuel de l'humanité que l'on m'a arrêté pendant plusieurs mois, et qui doit enfin être actuellement imprimé à Bouillon; je l'ai étendu jusqu'a 92 articles, et j'ose me flatter que vous le trouverez bien amélioré; j'y entame les plus grandes questions de la politique, et peutêtre trouverez-vous que je les envisage sous des points de vue que l'on n'avait pas encore présentés au public, au moins puis-je vous assurer que je n'ai copié personne en cela. j'espérois également vous envoyer un exemplaire de mon petit ouvrage sur la pairie; mais après m'avoir longtems et très indigneement baloté à ce sujet, on m'envoya enfin hier une brochure qu'on me marquoit être cela, et où je n'en ai reconnu qu'environ moitié, encadrée dans une espèce de factum sur l'affaire personnelle d'un homme en place. j'ai recriminé contre cet abus de confiance, mais je n'ai encore osé pousser de hauts cris de peur qu'après avoir défiguré l'ouvrage on ne se porte jusqu'a en maltraiter également l'auteur. car sur quoi peut on compter sous un gouvernement tel que le notre?

Encore puis-je vous assurer que je redoute le changement dont ce gouvernement même semble aujourd'huy menacé. il semble à nos Robins que le Roi et le peuple ne soient faits que pour eux; qu'avec des mots vagues de loix alléguées en gros et sans aucunes citations expresses, il doivent decider souverainement de tout, et leur joug seroit bientôt devenu plus insupportable, que celui du plus fier despote. que resultera-t-il donc la tout cecy? c'est ce qu'il ne me paroît pas facile de préjuger.

Le Chancelier pousse vigoureusement les Parlementaires qui se défendent pitoyablement; mais les esprits sont si universellement indisposés que depuis les Princes du sang jusqu'aux pois-

<sup>1</sup> This periodical ran from 1767 to 1772, and was edited first by Nicholas Baudeau and Victor de Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau, and after May, 1768, by Pierre Samuel Du Pont.

sardes des halles, tout devient frondeur pendant ce tems là, la déprédation des finances est à son comble, et comment le Roi se passera-t-il d'augmenter le charge publique, ou sur quoi mettra-t-il de nouveaux impôts, et que ne risqueroit-il pas dans une si grande fermentation des esprits, sur lesquels on diroit qu'un vent Britannique auroit soufflé d'un bout à l'autre du royaume? Louis 14 fit en 1667 une célèbre ordonnance qui défendoit à ses parlemens de faire aucune remontrance sur ses loix qu'après avoir enregistrées, et cette ordonnance fut parvenu enregistré purement simplement et sans aucune réclamation. Louis 17 par l'édit de décembre dernier permet les remontrances avoir l'enregistrement, pourvu qu'il s'ensuive pas une resistance sans fin; les robins crient que c'est renverser toutes les lois et tout le monde le répète sur leur parole. voila d'où nous on sommes.

Les Anglois sont-ils plus sages? j'en doute; mais j'espère pour l'honneur du genre humain que vous empêcherez par votre profonde sagesse et votre heureuse influence que la contagion [*incomplete*]

PARIS, 31<sup>e</sup> May, 1772.

Monsieur: — Nous avons icy beaucoup de mauvais Catholiques qui parcequ'ils ont manqué une année à faire leurs paques, n'osent plus jamais retourner à confesse. Je ne perds pas courage si aisément, ou je vous suis plus attaché qu'ils ne le sont au St. Siège. Un morne silence de deux ans m'a sensiblement affligé, mais ne m'empêchera pas de profiter de l'occasion de Mm. Sutton et de toutes celles qui se présenteront pour me renouveler dans l'honneur de votre souvenir, et vous protester de mon dévouement inaltérable et à toute épreuve. D'ailleurs M<sup>elle</sup> Biheron ne m'a point laissé ignorer les bontés que vous avez eues pour elle, et dont je ne vous dois pas moins de reconnoissance que si elles seroient épanchées directement sur moi même, et la mention gracieux que vous avez daigné faire de moi je n'en suis point ingrat, et tout ce qui part de vous pénètre jusqu'au plus profond de mon cœur.

J'ai vu dernièrement M. Le Roy qui n'a point du tout avancé le remaniement de la traduction de vos ouvrages, pour moi j'aurois craint de les ternir en y portant une main trop maussade, mais au défaut de la sienne, je suis bien tenté de l'entreprendre, mon zèle suppléera en partie à ma foiblesse; si vous m'honorez de votre aveu, comme vous m'en aviez flatté, faites moi la grâce de m'adresser ce que vous pourriez avoir de nouveau à y joindre, et si vous jugez à propos, je ferai encore repasse le tout sous vos yeux avant de le livrer à nos libraires.

J'avois bien étendu mon petit Code de l'Humanité, mais on m'a refusé l'approbation nécessaire pour le faire imprimer icy. J'y ai eu grand regret, car j'en étois bien plus content que le 1<sup>e</sup>. fois; mais que faire?

Je vous ai adressé le volumes des ephémérides du citoyen à mesure qu'ils ont paru, et que j'ai trouvé moyen de vous les faire passer. peut-être vous en manque-t-il quelques ans, en ce cas je suis prêt à y suppléer au 1<sup>er</sup> avis. mais vous devez savoir que cet ouvrage est toujours fort en retard par le gêne de la presse en ce bon pays cy, où l'on voudroit que tout fût bien, et où l'on craint jusqu'à l'ombre du mal. Adieu, Monsieur et toujours cher Ami, ma femme vous embrasse et vous baise de tout son cœur; et voudroit bien vous tenir avec M<sup>r</sup> Pringle que je vous prie d'assurer de mon respect, et de mon dévouement.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec des sentimens uniques, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

DUBOURG.

PARIS ce 9<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>b</sup>. 1772.

Monsieur et cher Ami: — J'arrive de la campagne où j'ai passé deux jours, et j'ai enfin trouvé à mon arrivée le manuscrit de la traduction de vos œuvres par M. Lesqui (le premontré) qu'il avoit depuis si longtems égarée, et pour quoi je l'avois beaucoup harcelé surtout depuis une quinzaine de jours. En conséquence, vous pouvez compter que je vois dès aujourd'hui me mettre à l'ouvrage, et ne le quitterai point que je ne l'aye terminé autant bien que je le pourrai faire, soit que je puisse tirer plus ou moins de parti de ce qui en fait, soit qu'il me faille recommencer tout à neuf. J'ai pris à cette intention un jeune homme pour écrire sous ma dictée, afin d'accélérer d'autant; et je vous ferai passer ma besogne lettre à lettre, à mesure que j'avancerai.

Il me paroît que vous avez éprouvé beaucoup plus de difficultés qu'il n'étoit naturel de prévoir pour faire imprimer avec exactitude mon petit Code en français à Londres, et moi de mon côté j'ai découvert qu'il m'auroit été plus facile que ne l'espérois de le faire imprimer en France, clandestinement à la vérité, mais qu'importe? si donc les mêmes difficultés subsistent chez vous, je vous supplie de me renvoyer mon manuscrit par la 1<sup>re</sup> occasion (car je n'en ai point conservé de copie) et on me le fera imprimer secrètement à Caen. J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer cy joint le nouveau volume des Ephémérides du Citoyen, qui est appelé le 3<sup>e</sup> de la 6<sup>e</sup> année, parceque les auteurs se sont

trop laissé arriérer pour ne pas rougir d'intituler volume de mars celui qu'ils donnent à la fin de 7<sup>bre</sup> ou au commencement d'octobre; quoique ce retard ne vienne pas de leur faute, mais plutôt des tracasseries qu'ils ont éprouvées de notre gouvernement peu commode à son ordinaire.

Mlle. Biheron s'est non seulement occupée de la commission de Madame Stevenson, mais ell'a consulté sur cela les personnes les plus au fait et du meilleur goût; ainsi j'espère que la commission sera bien faite quoiqu'en s'écartant un peu des termes de la commettante; Mlle. Biheron est pourtant bien aise de l'en prévenir. elle me charge de vous assurer de ses civilités, et de toute la reconnaissance qu'elle conservera toujours de vos bontés.

Ma femme, qui me détourne souvent de toute autre sorte de travail que je voudrais entreprendre, est, et sera toujours la 1<sup>ere</sup> à m'aiguillonner à celui peut vous faire plaisir, et contribuer à répandre votre gloire. elle me charge de vous fair mille amitiés pour elle.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un inviolable attachment, Monsieur et cher Ami, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

DUBOURG.

Mes respectueux complimens à M. Pringle.

A PARIS ce 28<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> 1772.

Monsieur et cher Ami: — Je travaille autant qu'il est en moi à remplir mes engagemens, en refondant en entier la traduction de vos excellens ouvrages; mais je sens trop ce qui me manque pour espérer de rendre la copie digne de l'original. Trouvez bon qui je vous demande quelques éclaircissemens à mesure qui j'avancerai.

Je ne trouve point dans le dictionaire le mot *orrieres* page 34. je conjecture qu'il signifie *cadrans*.

non plus que les mots *surf* and *spray*, page 41, que je ne devine pas, et qui m'arrêtent.

ni *jostled*, page 47, qui cependant m'embarrasse moins.

Votre expérience avec la fumée de résine pour rendre visible l'athmosphère électrique me satisfait beaucoup. en avez-vous tiré le parti que vous auriez pu? je m'en rapporte à vous.

Je voudrais savoir ce qu'entend le D<sup>r</sup>. . . par *my old theme*, et par *your Doctrine of the Origin*, &c

Les expériences sur le froid produit par les corps évaporables ne vous engagera-t-il point à en faire quelques unes sur le chaud produit par les corps *déliquescons*, c'est à dire qui attirent l'hu-

midité de l'air et s'y liquéfient, comme l'alkali fixe du tartre, d'où provient l'huile de tartre par défaillance? (*per deliquium*). Par rapport à l'électricité médicale, les expériences de l'Abbé Sans, (il y a deux ans) n'eurent pas les grands succès qu'il en promettoit. je vous envoie cy joint le détail d'une autre expérience assez singulière, que suit un simple artiste; à qui j'ai donné une petite consultation à ce sujet, où vous verrez une idée peu commune que j'avois depuis longtems sur l'épilepsie.

Je reviens à vos lettres sur les refroidissemens, page 347. est-il bien exact de dire que le ver à soye est vêtu de sa soye dans son état d'embryon? le changement du ver en chrysalide se fait dans le coucou de soye, mais le véritable état d'embryon est, à mon avis, dans l'oeuf, avant que le ver en éclore.

Ne manque-t-il pas à votre carré magique de 8, de faire par ses diagonales 260. je me suis amusé à en faire un qui remplit toutes vos conditions et quelques autres difficultés de plus, comme de pouvoir en transposer des moitiés, ou des quartiers sans y causer aucun préjudice et qui de tous les sens fait toujours 11000. en l'honneur des 11000 vierges de nos légendes. Dans votre carré magique de 16, il y a au moins un nombre répété (241) et au moins une ligne factive qui est la 1<sup>e</sup> comme je m'en suis tenu à cette très légère inspection que le hazard m'a procuré, je désirerois que vous revoyiez s'il n'y en auroit pas d'autres.

*Coals* page 362, est à ce qu'il me semble ce que nous appellons du charbon de terre, mais nous le regardons comme un fossile d'origine végétale, et non de la 1<sup>e</sup> antiquité de notre globe. faites y attention. Avez-vous répété votre jolie expérience sur le mouvement des liqueurs avec 3 liquides de pesanteurs différentes et de couleurs assez distinctes, comme l'huile de goyac, l'eau et l'huile commune? comme j'avois eu l'honneur de vous le proposer?

Ne vous sembleroit-il pas intéressant de chercher à déterminer le *maximum* et le *minimum* des rapports de la profondeur des canaux navigables aux bateaux qu'ils doivent porter?

Je n'ai point trouvé dans le dictionnaire le mot *track-schuyt* page 492.

Mais voilà assez de questions à la fois. Si vous pouvez vous faire à mes importunités, elles seront suivies de beaucoup d'autres.

Voulez vous que je vous envoie quelques cayers traduits, avant d'aller plus loin? ils peuvent bien faire actuellement la 8<sup>e</sup> partie du total. Je vous en ferai passer au moins quelques uns par Mlle. Biheron, si elle retourne à Londres vers la fin du moins prochaine, comme elle s'y dispose; mais je crains 1<sup>o</sup> pour sa santé qui n'est pas encore trop bonne. 2<sup>o</sup> pour ses frais que ne

sauvoient manquer d'être grands, et qu'elle ne retirera peut-être pas encore. au nom de Dieu, si vous ne voyez pas jour à un meilleur succès de ce voyage que du précédent, faites moi la grâce de me le dire entre nous, j'insisterois sur des motifs de santé pour la retenir.

Je vais songer aussi à faire regraver les planches nécessaires pour l'édition prochaine; ainsi je vous prie 1° de revoir le grand carré magique, pour le rendre absolument correct; 2° de songer si vous n'auriez pas quelques nouvelles figures à ajouter aux planches, et de m'en faire part sans delay. il faut faire en sorte que vous puissiez emporter avec vous, quand notre Europe vous reperdra, une paquette de la traduction complète de vos ouvrages.

Par rapport à mon petit Code de la Raison, je m'en tiens à ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous marquer par ma dernière. si vous trouvez trop d'embarras à le faire imprimer en françois à Londres, faites moi la grâce de me le renvoyer; je pourrai le faire imprimer secrètement en province.

Ma femme, et ses voisins et tous vos amis et amies de ma connoissance m'ont chargé de mille amitiés pour vous sans oublier votre digne ami M. Pringle. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

A PARIS ce 28<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1772.

Monsieur et très cher Ami: — J'ai reçu la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré en date du 12<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> avec un ps. du 16.

Je suis au moins à la moitié de ma traduction de votre in 4° et j'espère l'achever sur la fin de l'année, ou dans les commencement de l'autre. *non laboratur ubi amatur*, disoit St. Augustin.

Vous ne sauriez douter que je ne reçoive avec plaisir, que je n'attende même avec impatience le supplément que vous m'annoncez, vos nouvelles expériences sur les verges foudroyables, et vos instructions pour diriger les faiseurs d'expériences sur l'anguille de Surinam, sur la torpille, &c. vous sentez bien aussi que je ne serois pas fâché de recevoir quelque exemplaire de mon petit Code imprimé sous vos heureux et glorieux auspices; mais je voudrois bien tâcher d'éviter les frais énormes de la poste. votre dernière lettre m'a été taxée à cents sols; que seroit-ce d'un paquet un peu fort? S'il ne se rencontre point d'occasion favorable (comme il y en a peu de ce genre) vous pourriez, s'il y a des messageries en Angleterre comme en France, m'envoyer par cette voye (tant soit peu plus lente, mais beaucoup moins coûteuse) tous les paquets un peu gros, mais non

pas deux exemplaires à la fois d'un même ouvrages quelconque, parceque les visites tant à la douane qu'à la chambre de la Librairie de Paris entraineront des tracasseries et des vexations désolantes.

En attendant je vous prie de vouloir m'adresser un exemplaire du petit Code sous une 1<sup>e</sup> enveloppe à mon adresse, cette enveloppe simplement arrêtée avec un peu de cire d'Espagne (sans cachet) puis une 2<sup>e</sup> enveloppe (pareillement arrêtée avec un peu de cire sans cachet) avec cette souscription *pour la gazette de France* et enfin une 3<sup>e</sup> enveloppe cachetée et adressée à Monseigneur, Monseigneur le Chancelier de France, à Versailles. Non seulement, j'espère que cet exemplaire pourra me parvenir par ce moyen, franc de port; mais si vous aviez par hasard quelques papiers publics d'Amérique qui vous fussent devenus inutiles, ou quelques autres paperasses imprimées sur la politique, sur le commerce, sur les arts, &c., &c., pas trop vieilles, du même pays surtout, mais aussi d'Angleterre, au défaut des autres, dont vous voulussiez bien glisser de tems en tems une pièce sous les mêmes enveloppes pour l'auteur de la gazette de France, vous pourriez me faire passer en même tems par cette voye, autants de petits paquets qu'il vous plairait; chaque paquet pour moi de 4 à 5 feuilles au plus sous la 1<sup>e</sup> enveloppe intérieure, quelque feuille, demi feuille (ou feuille complet dans certain cas) sous la 2<sup>e</sup> enveloppe pour la gazette, et le tout toujours recouverte d'une 3<sup>e</sup> enveloppe extérieure à M. Le Chancelier. et cela pourroit se répéter une ou 2 fois par semaine, au besoin. je vous prie aussi d'en vouloir adresser un exemplaire sous une 1<sup>e</sup> enveloppe à Madame la Duchesse de Fitzjames, cette 1<sup>e</sup> arrêtée avec de la cire sans cachet, et recouverte d'une 2<sup>e</sup> enveloppe adressée à Monseigneur, Monseigneur le Duc d'Aiguillon, Pair de France, Ministre d'Etat, à Versailles.

Enfin je vous prie aussi d'adresser d'abord la 1<sup>e</sup> feuille seulement d'un exemplaire du même code à Son Altesse Serenissime Madame La Duchesse de Chartres, au Palais royal, à Paris, et garder le reste de ces exemplaires pour quand vous aurez de mes nouvelles à ce sujet.

Me. La D<sup>se</sup> de Fitzjames [*torn*] de me rapporter quelques torpilles vivantes de l[*torn*] où elle est actuellement; mais je crains bien [*torn*] mortes.

Voicy comment j'ai traduit *and the silk by which the silk-worm, in its tender embrio state, is first cloathed, et la soye qui a été donnée à un insecte délicat, pour passer son état critique.* j'ai préférà desseins le mot d'*insecte* à celui de ver, par la raison

qu'un ver proprement dit n'ayant point de membres distincts et n'étant point sujet à diverses métamorphoses, c'est abusivement que la chenille qui file la soye est appelée ver à soye. en écrivant cecy, je me ravise; il me semble qu'il vaudra mieux mettre *une chenille délicate*.

Je vous envoie cy joint mon quarré magique des 11000 vierges, puisque vous êtes curieux de la voir. en même tems je prens la liberté de vous représenter que vos diagonales cou-dées ne doivent point vous dispenser des diagonales entières plus simples, et plus à portée de tout le monde. j'ai vérifié en entier votre quarré magique de 16, et je n'y ai trouvé que les 2 seules et mêmes fautes que le hazard m'avoit fait rencontrer au 1<sup>er</sup> coup d'œil, par une singularité qui m'étonne encore.<sup>1</sup>

J'ajouterai en note dessous [*torn*] votre texte dans la lettre sur les couches de terre ce que vous [*torn*] de votre descente dans les mines de charbon fossile de White[haven]<sup>2</sup> [*incomplete*.]

[Late in 1772 or early in 1773 ?]<sup>3</sup>

Lorsque Mlle. Biheron sera un peu reposer, je vous prie de lui dire qu'elle me feroit grand plaisir et encore plus à un de nos amis, si elle vouloit bien nous faire l'emplette à Londres de bonne eau de menthe poivrée (*peper menth water*) au moins une douzaine de bouteilles de pintes mesure de Paris, en grandes ou petites bouteilles, mais par préférence en petites bouteilles, et plustôt encore 24 pintes que 12 d'en faire 2 ou 4 ballots bien emballés, et de me les adresser par les voitures publiques avec les précautions d'usage, un seul ballot à la fois, mais tous successivement de semaine en semaine.

S'il y avoit moyen d'envelopper chacune de ces bouteilles d'une feuille de vos notes et matéreaux divers, ou d'une feuille de mon petit Code, cela feroit bien mon affaire. mais en ce cas, il faudroit 1<sup>o</sup> que cela fut si bien emmailloté que ces feuilles ne fussent pas excessivement gâtées, 2<sup>o</sup> qu'elle eut attention à n'y employer dans chaque ballot que des exemplaires de la même feuille du Code pour toutes les bouteilles ou tout au plus que des exemplaires, de 2 feuilles, par exemple d'abord de la 1<sup>e</sup> et de la 3<sup>e</sup> et l'ordinaire suivant des exemplaires de la 2<sup>e</sup> et de 4<sup>e</sup> afin que si on fouilloit avec le plus grand soin, comme il faut s'y attendre, cela n'eut l'air que de feuilles de rebut, et qu'on ne fût pas se

<sup>1</sup> *Writings* (Smyth), v. 464.

<sup>2</sup> *Writings* (Smyth), v. 409, 552, the second reference being the "text" of Franklin's letter.

<sup>3</sup> Written while Mademoiselle Biheron was in London.

douter que l'on pourroit icy les rassembler successivement et en refaire à deux tems des exemplaires complets. que pensez-vous de cette idée?

Au reste si cette eau, *peper menth water*, est un peu chère à Londres, fut-ce à 6<sup>li</sup> argent de France la pinte de France, cela ne doit arrêter Mlle. Biheron; on lui en tiendra un fidèle compte.

Mais il est tems de finir cette *longissime* lettre. Ma femme vous embrasse de tout son cœur, et je ne suis point jaloux. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

Mes respectueuses civilités à M<sup>r</sup> Pringle.

[early in 1773]

Monsieur et cher Ami:—Je n'ai encore reçu ni votre paq[uet *torn*] du 8<sup>e</sup>. je vous prie de me marque[*torn*] ferez l'honneur de m'écrire par la [*torn*] vous étiez servi pour les [*torn*] voyageans, je pourrais pour peu qu[*torn*] découvrir icy dans les hôtels garnis [*torn*] et si ce sont françois domiciliés à Paris cela seroit encore plus simples, mais guères plus sûr.

Si vous ne trouviez point d'inconvénient à communiquer au public l'explication que Miss S[tevenso]n a proposée de la chaleur que l'eau de Bristoll aquert par l'action de la pompe, je pense que cela ne pourroit que faire plaisir au public. J'ose encore mieux vous repondre qu'on seroit fort aise de sçavoir comment vous rendez raison de ce que le [*torn*] des rhumes, et que le linge [*torn*] n'en causent pas. si vous ne [*torn*] publier encore l'explication, je vous [*torn*] communiquer pour mon instruction.

[*torn*] noircir les murs des espaliers à fruits [*torn*] nous fait exécuter, ou vu exécuté quelque [*torn*] il peut y avoir du pour et du contre. les [*torn*] issent plus de chaleur sur les fruits pendant le jour, et peuvent conséquemment contribuer à avancer leur accroissement, et assurer leur parfaite maturité dans les climats un peu froids. êtes vous bien certain (même avant l'expérience) que ce que les murs noircis pourront leur rendre pendant la nuit de leur réserve du jour, compensera avec surabondance ce qu'ils leur en auront absorbé de plus que les murs blancs ordinaires?

dans votre dernière lettre du 26<sup>e</sup>-30<sup>e</sup> x<sup>bre</sup> vous avez la bonté de m'expliquer le mot chain en ces termes *a surveyor's chain meant here, is four p[oles or 66 feet torn]*<sup>1</sup> des arpenteurs est de 4 perches [*torn*] est donc de 16 pieds et demi [*torn*] com-

<sup>1</sup> *Writings* (Smyth), v. 464.

mode pour l'usage, je soupçon [torn] par mégarde un chiffre pour l'a[torn] la perche varie un peu d'une pr[torn] royale est de 22 pieds, ainsi 66 pieds [torn] je demande donc si vous n'auriez pas [torn] 4 perches pour 3, ou 66 pieds pour [torn] En examinant l'appareil électrique de M. [torn]<sup>1</sup> expérience de Marly la ville (tant la description que la figure) il me semble qu'il n'avoit pas bien pris ses précautions pour la sûreté de son ami Coiffier, et que si le tonnerre eût été très fort, il auroit bien pu éprouver le même sort que M. Richman,<sup>2</sup> puisque le verge de fer n'avoit point de communication établis avec la terre, et portoit au contraire sur une planche isolée par des bouteilles. qu'en pensez-vous?

Permettez moi de vous adresser le petit memoire cy joint de M. Missa mon Confrère, qui vous seroit fort obligé si vous pouviez sans [torn] procurer quelques éclaircissemens [torn hum]ani à te *alienum putas*. [torn] Madle Biheron depuis bien du [torn beau]coup d'inquiétude sur sa santé. Si [torn] ne lui est pas favorable, faites la [torn] sa santé n'est point mauvaise. [torn]igence, qui nous afflige tous, et [torn] Basseporte malade.

[torn] votre portrait fort à cœur, il se flatte que s'il avoit eu le bonheur de vous voir dans un de vos précédens voyages; il auroit fait quelque chose de mieux que ce que je lui ai donné à copier et réduire. et il se propose de profiter de l'occasion que vous nous faites espérer l'été prochain pour le refaire à neuf. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

A PARIS ce 24<sup>e</sup> f.<sup>r</sup> 1773.

Monsieur et très cher Ami: — L'impression avança bien la semaine dernière, j'eus chaque jour une feuille nouvelle (à corriger les épreuves) le carnaval est cause qui cette semaine-cy ne m'a encore rien produit, mais j'espère que cela va reprendre le même train sans interruption.

Je vous envoyai, il y a aujourd'hui 8 jours sous une simple enveloppe deux feuilles sortantes de la presse. je comptois les mettre entre les mains de M<sup>r</sup> Fowke et de M<sup>r</sup> Davies qui m'avoient fait l'honneur de passer icy la veille, mais j'arrivai à leur hôtel deux minutes trop tard, ayant rencontré leur chaise de poste à 100 pas en deça.

Je vous en envoie cy jointes 44 nouvelles dans lesquelles j'ai trouvé 2 fautes échappées (à mettre en *errata*) aux pages 58, et 68.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Dalibard.

<sup>2</sup> Georges-Guillaume Richmann, a Swedish physicist, born at Pernau, 1711, and killed at St. Petersburg, 1753.

Ne pensez-vous pas que pour changer les poles de l'aiguille aimantée, un coup d'électricité positive appliqué au pole du sud ou un d'électricité negative appliqué au pole du nord, doivent produire le même effet, pourvu qu'ils soient l'un et l'autre suffisamment forts?

Ne pensez-vous pas que l'on pourroit aimer par le moyen de l'électricité, non de simples aiguilles, mais jusqu'à barres de fer? et n'espéreriez-vous pas qu'on pourroit par ce moyen se procurer des aimants artificiels d'une force supérieure à tous ceux que l'on a eus jusqu'à présent, puis qu'il n'y a point de bornes à la force qu'il est possible de donner à l'électricité?

Ne jugeriez-vous pas à propos de communiquer au public, la construction du petit appareil électrique portatif que vous vous êtes fait?

Je vous supplie de me dire encore les différentes formes de machines électriques, qu'elle est celle que vous jugez la plus simple et la meilleure et de l'usage le plus commode et le moins fatigant, tant à l'égard des roues et de leur monture, et de la disposition du coussin et du conducteur, qu'à l'égard des verres en plateau, ou en globe, &c. M<sup>r</sup> Dalibard, qui m'a chargé de vous faire bien des complimens, a par lui même un moyen aisé de me procurer la franchise des lettres et paquet depuis la frontière, ou le port de mer, jusqu'à Paris. je joins icy l'instruction qu'il m'a donné à ce sujet. je vous prie d'en faire usage pour m'envoyer, une ou plusieurs feuilles à la fois (4 à 5 à la fois) de votre nouvelle édition, ainsi que la brochure de M<sup>r</sup> Du Pont (de qui j'ai aussi mille complimens à vous faire aussi bien que de M. Le Marquis de Mirabeau) je crois qu'il sera nécessaire d'affranchir les ports de ces paquets jusqu'à Douvres. je vous prie de vous en assurer, et en ce cas de vouloir bien en faire pour moi les avances, dont je vous tiendrai un fidèle compte, ou pour le mieux que je vous prie et prierai Mlle. Biheron de vous rembourser immédiatement. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

Ma femme vous embrasse de toute son âme, et est pénétrée comme moi de la plus vive reconnaissance de toutes vos bontés pour votre bonne amie, Mlle. Biheron.

M. Dalibard avoit un tableau magique très bon, et une grande cucurbite dont il s'étoit fait une bonne bouteille de Leyde. l'un et l'autre sont devenus tout à fait conducteurs. il en a trouvé la raison sensible dans l'altération de la colle qui avoit servi à faire tenir l'étamure, et qui s'est trouvée aigrie et corrompue.

Il seroit à désirer pour les progrès ultérieurs de l'électricité que l'on fit une bonne suite d'expériences sur les verres de différentes natures, c'est à dire, dans lesquels entrent les différentes espèces de fondans tant salins que métalliques en différentes proportions; et sur chacun de ces verres à différens degrés de chaleur.

Dans ce moment il vient de me passer par la tête une idée que vous trouverez peut-être bien folle. je pourrai cependant vous la communiquer l'ordinaire prochain; mais il faut lui donner moins ce tems là, soit pour mûrer ou pour pourrir.

Nous avons icy le Phytolacca. je me doutois que c'étoit le Pokeweed, mais il y en a au moins 3 espèces quelle est la bonne?

Un de mes Confrères et moi sommes convenus de travailler en société à traduire les Transactions philosophiques Américaines.

Est-il possible, est-il pardonable que je ne vous aye pas encore fait le moindre remerciement pour toutes les peines que vous avez daigné prendre pour l'impression du P[etit] C[ode]? j'ai été si petrifié de la trahison que j'ai éprouvée à l'occasion d'une exemplaire, que j'en ai perdu le sens. Daignez en recevoir mes excuses aussi sincères et humbles que tardives et disproportionnées à la faute. Tâcher aussi, je vous supplie, de me ménager la continuation des bontés de Madame Hewson que j'honore de toute mon ame et envers qui je ne m'aquitterai pas facilement; mais je n'y négligerai rien si je puis en trouver l'occasion.

Quant à l'exécution typographique de cette brochure, il est très bien. voyons pourtant.

le frontispice est une page un peu uniforme.

Dans l'épître dédicatoire, les deux Monsieur encore un peu trop ressemblans.

préface, page 1. ligne 12. *son lisez sont.*

page 13. ligne 16. *leur jouissances, lisez leurs.*

page 38. ligne 5. *né, libre,* effacez la virgule.

page 41. ligne 16. *d'engrossir,* séparez ces deux mots *d'en grossir.*

page 52. LA FIN, effacez LA.

Le caractère &c me paraît un trop trop figuré et trop saillant.

je ne sais ce que signifie certains chiffres au bas de quelques pages: comme 9. (page 3.) 6. (page 5.) 6. (page 10.) 7. (page 17.) 5. (page 30.) 4. (page 37.) 6. (page 44.)

Au reste les caractères sont beaux, le papier assez beau, les articles bien disposés. en un mot je suis, comme je le dois, pénétré de vos bontés.

On reçut hier une lettre de Mlle. Bihéron par la poste; mais

celles qu'elle a écrit par des occasions sont encore en chemin. Puissiez vous nous la ramener bientôt avec vous. Plût à Dieu. L'heure me presse de finir. je joins icy 9 nouvelles feuilles. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

11<sup>e</sup> avril 1773.

A PARIS ce 25<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1773.

Mon cher Maitre: — J'ai reçu le paquet que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer par M. Stanley, qui ne m'a point laissé son adresse, et que je n'ai pu savoir d'ailleurs. Ce paquet contenoit les Transactions philosophiques de Philadelphie, la vie de M. Collinson, et les deux dernières pièces que vous avez publiées dans les papiers publics, et j'ai lu le tout avec le plus grand plaisir. j'aime le ton gay avec lequel vous persiflez vos [*a word erased*]; *ridiculum acri fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.* j'ai été bien content de la réflexion de M. Collinson sur la vie champêtre et les occupations du jardinage que semblent plus assorties que toute autre avec la probité et la candeur. je me tiens pour averti M<sup>r</sup> Otto et Morgan de cultiver des *Corona solis*, pour tirer de l'huile de leurs semences. la machine de M. W. Henry, quoiqu'elle ne paroisse pas décrite assez clairement, m'a paru fort ingénieuse. M. de Réaumur a fait part au public d'une idée assez analogue que M. le Prince de Conti lui avoit suggérée au sujet de ses fours à poulet. Apropos de cela j'attens avec d'autant plus d'impatience la description de votre nouveau poêle que je me propose de reprendre sur la fin du hiver avec un ou deux amis le projet de faire couver des œufs et élever des poulets avec économie sans le secours des poules couveuses. Si vous aviez jamais spéculé sur cela, je vous prie de me faire part de vos réflexions.

S'il y a quelque critique de votre ouvrage, je n'en suis pas encore informé. on en parle très bien de toutes parts; les feuilles périodiques en ont fait les plus grands éloge, cependant de débit n'y répond pas jusqu'icy; il est vrai que le tems des fêtes de la Cour après la saison des vacances est une circonstance très défavorable.

Si j'ai donné mon adresse aux écoles de Médecine, ce n'est pas que j'aye changé de demeure; c'est parceque le Bedeau de la faculté qui y demeure et qui est mon relieur, s'est chargé de tous les détails, et n'avoit pas droit de faire mettre son nom au frontispice. ainsi c'est de ma part un domicile d'élection chez lui, comme il est d'usage commun d'élire domicile chez son pro-

cureur quand on a des procès, afin qu'il soit le 1<sup>er</sup> instruit des significations qu'on reçoit à ce sujet. quant à la rue, ce n'est pas de la boucherie, mais de la bûcherie, mot dérivé vraisemblablement de bûcher, et celui de bûche, ou busche. et cette rue a pu être ainsi appelée par rapport aux chantiers de bois de chauffage où les bûches sont entassées en grands piles, les quels chantiers sont en très grand nombre de ce même côté de la rivière, mais aujourd'hui un peu plus loin, parce qu'on les repousse successivement à mesure que la ville étend son enceinte.

J'ai été fort aise de faire connoissance avec M. Fromond, mais il a demeuré trop peu de tems icy. je lui ai porté un exemplaire de vos œuvres pour lui et un dont il a bien voulu se charger pour le P. Beccaria. j'en ai envoyé un à la société philosophique de Rotterdam par la voye d'un Chapelain de l'ambasse de Hollande (M. de la Broue) et un à la société royale de Gottingue par le moyen de M. Zanoni. Il faut espérer que M. Pickering ne tardera pas désormais d'arriver avec ceux dont il s'est chargé pour vous de si bonne grâce.

Quelques discussions que j'ai eu à essuyer de la part du graveur et de son imprimeur en taille douce m'ont empêché de pouvoir vous envoyer plutôt les 12 portraits que l'on vous demande séparément; mais enfin j'en ai fait tirer un demicent de nouveaux, et je ferai partir demain la douzaine en question avec les six exemplaires que vous désirez aussi de l'ouvrage par les voitures ordinaires tout simplement, sans attendre ni chercher davantage d'occasions, attendu que cela fait un paquet suffisant pour les messageries. je l'ai adressé à Calais à M. Audibert du Pont négociant, qui vous l'expédiera aussitôt pour Londres.<sup>1</sup>

M. Dalibard est très content de sa glace, quoique beaucoup plus chère que celles de ce pays-cy. il vous salue et vous remercie.

Lorsque vous me ferez la grâce de m'envoyer quelque chose par la poste à l'avenir, il me parviendra franc de port, si vous voulez prendre la peine de mettre à votre lettre une 1<sup>re</sup> enveloppe à mon adresse, et de l'arrêter avec très peu de cire sans cachet; d'ajouter à cette lettre tous les papiers ou brochures qu'il vous plaira, de recouvrir le paquet d'une bande transversale de papier d'un ou deux pouces de large, arrêtée sans cachet avec un peu de cire, avec une suscription à Monsieur Zanony, enfin de recouvrir le tout d'une enveloppe extérieure avec votre cachet, et

<sup>1</sup> This doubtless refers to the portrait of Franklin in the first volume of Barbeau-Dubourg's translation of his *Works*. It was designed and engraved by F. N. Martinet and was based on the painting by Mason Chamberlin.

d'y mettre l'adresse à Monseigneur, Monsigneur le Duc d'Aiguillon, Pair de France, et Ministre d'état à Versailles. si le paquet faisoit un trop gros volume, il seroit à propos d'en faire deux envois successifs en le partageant, quoique un paquet de 8 ou 10 feuilles d'impression puisse passer ainsi sans difficulté.

M. le Roy lut le 13<sup>e</sup> de ce mois à la rentrée publique de l'Académie des sciences un mémoire sur les conducteurs destinés à préserver les batimens, dont je me serois fait un devoir de vous rendre compte en détail, s'il ne m'avoit dit qu'il vous le communiqueroit. il prétend que M. Wilson n'étoit pas le seul de l'avis des conducteurs sans pointe; en ce cas j'étois dans l'erreur à cet égard.

J'ai vu M. Le Marquis de Courtanvaux,<sup>1</sup> et diné chez lui lundi dernier, où nous bûmes à votre santé. il a une magnifique machine électrique, où je compte essayer quelques expériences dans le courant de la semaine prochaine. je ne manquerai pas de vous rendre compte du succès, s'il en vaut la peine. il y a pourtant apparence que ce ne sera pas immédiatement, parce-qu'il pourra être besoin de plusieurs séances, et peut-être même de divers préparatifs, et que l'on ne fait pas toujours aller les ouvriers aussi vite que l'on voudroit; vous devez le savoir aussi bien ou mieux qu'un autre, d'ailleurs je ne sais peut-être pas encore bien tout ce que j'aurai à leur demander.

J'espère que l'extrait du vieil Almanac de Pensylvanie ne sera pas seulement applaudi icy, mais qu'il y fera du fruit. Dieu le veuille. Madle. Biheron, Melle. Basseporte et ma femme m'ont chargé de vous faire bien des amitiés. pas une d'elles ne se portent bien; ce sont trois emplâtres, mais qui vous sont bien attachées. J'ai bien peur que cela ne vous conviennent guères.

Pour moi, je me porte bien, grâces à Dieu, et si bien que j'aurois passé la mer pour aller vous trouver cet hiver, si ma femme eût été en un état où je puisse la quitter. Si sa santé se raffermir nous ferons le voyage ensemble l'année prochaine, si elle veut m'en croire. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

Met respectueuses civilités, s'il vous plait, à M. Pringle.

A PARIS CE 29<sup>e</sup> X<sup>bre</sup> 1773.

Monsieur et cher Ami: — Dans le moment que je traçois cette 1<sup>e</sup> demie ligne on m'a annoncé une persone envoyée par M. Le Prince de Conti pour me demander si j'avois reçu la description

<sup>1</sup> François-César Le Tellier, Marquis de Courtanvaux and Duc de Doudeauville (1718-1781).

et la figure que vous m'avez promise de votre cheminée, et me prier de lui en faire part aussitôt que je l'aurai. j'ai répondu que vous sauriez incessamment l'intérêt que S. A. S. y prenoit et que dès que j'aurois votre réponse à ce sujet j'aurois l'honneur d'aller lui en rendre compte. bien d'autres moins qualifiés m'en demandent tous les jours des nouvelles.

J'appris hier au soir qu'on avoit ouvert un souscription chez un Notaire pour donner un prix *au meilleur mémoire sur les moyens d'écartier le tonnerre des édifices et des individus*, sur quoi on s'en rapportera au jugement de l'Académie des sciences. reste à savoir si la souscription à peine encore annoncée se remplira facilement. je n'en désespère pourtant pas.

Si vous prenez la peine d'ouvrir l'un des volumes du journal de Médecine que je prens la liberté de vous adresser pour M. Rush, vous verrez le compte qu'on y rend des expériences de Comus sur la platine. peut-être ne savez vous pas qui est ce Comus. c'est un joueur de gobelets fort en vogue sur les boulevards, mais fort distingué dans son espèce, et qui joint d'une considération au dessus de son état.

Vos ouvrages sont de plus en plus goûtés de tout ce qu'il y a de plus capable d'en juger dans ce pays cy et de donner le ton à la longue, mais n'ayant pas la faveur des libraires cela ne gagne pas encore beaucoup dans le public; il faut prendre patience à cet égard. je compte que non seulement tout le monde y viendra, mais que votre patrie en profitera et sera aussi exaltée à votre occasion non seulement en France mais dans toute l'Europe qu'elle y a fait peu de sensation jusqu'à présent. beaucoup de gens commencent à s'en entretenir, et tous avec une sorte de passion favorable. je reçois plus de complimens de ma petite préface que le plus grand ouvrage ne m'en auroit attiré dans toute ma vie. Voilà ce que me vaut de planer à l'ombre de vos ailes. *o, et praesidium, et dulce decus meum.*

Celui qui s'est chargé de la présente, que je ne connois que depuis quelques jours qu'un ami commun me l'a adressé; a conçu le projet et que je souhaite qui lui réussisse, d'aller se faire maître de langue françoise à Londres. il ne me paroît pas encore bien fort sûr l'Anglois, mais on assure qu'il possède supérieurement le talent de l'enseignement qui est une sorte de don spécial de la nature qui n'est pas aussi identifié qu'il sembleroit devoir l'être avec le savoir le plus profond. oserois-je vous demander d'avoir pour lui quelques bontés sans vous compromettre. il a une lettre à vous remettre aussi de la part du M. Le Roy, qui le connoît peut-être depuis plus longtems ou plus à fond, et qui est d'ailleurs plus capable d'en juger.

J'ai des millions de complimens à vous faire de ma femme, de Mlle. Bihéron et d'une multitude de gens de tout sexe et de tout état. Mais soyez sûr que personne ne vous est plus sincèrement attaché, ne fait de vœux, plus ardens pour votre conservation et votre prospérité, ne désire plus de vous embrasser cette année pour vous répéter que je suis de toute mon âme Tout à vous.

DUBOURG.

Mes respectueuses civilités, s'il vous plait, à Monsieur Pringle, que Dieu conserve et bénisse.

Celui qui aura l'honneur de vous remettre cette lettre, Monsieur et cher Ami, est un de mes Confrères distingué par les qualités de l'esprit et du cœur, qui désirant connoître un peu l'Angleterre et spécialement ceux avec qui il y a le plus à apprendre ambitionne surtout l'avantage de vous voir, et m'a témoigné le plus vif empressement sur cela. je vous serai fort obligé de le recevoir avec cette bonté qui vous est naturelle et que personne n'a plus prouvée que moi; et si vous vouliez bien lui procurer un accès favorable auprès du M. Pringle, ce seroit encore une obligation de plus que je partagerois avec lui. Il se nomme Macquart.<sup>1</sup> M. L'Abbé des Prades, grand Vicaire du Diocèse de Dié, et Secrétaire du M. Le Comte d'Artois, avoit fait l'année dernière six vers pour être mis au bas de votre portrait, et avoit chargé quelqu'un de me les remettre qui ne fit pas la commission comm'il l'avoit promis. il m'en a parlé ces jours derniers. Je lui demandai une copie que je joins icy, afin que vous en jugiez. quant à moi, je les trouve beaux, mais je doute que ces mots *enchaina*, *tyrannie*, *héros*, soient les termes les plus propres chacun à sa place respective.<sup>2</sup> ainsi quand je les aurois eus à tems, je crois que je m'en serois encore tenu à me quatre petits, tout simples qu'ils sont.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Louis Charles René Macquart (1745-1818).

<sup>2</sup> The nearest to such an inscription is that beneath an engraving of the Charles Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790) type published "A Paris chez Made. Bergny Mde. d'Estampes de S. A. S. la Princesse Lamballe, rue du Coq S. Honoré A. P. D. R." It reads:

Trop longtemps son génie enchaina la tonnerre,  
Vous tyrans, fremissez, il regagne les Cieux.  
Il va rendre à la foudre et sa force et ses feux,

1 Pour punir désormais les crimes de la terre.

<sup>3</sup> Under the Martinet plate are the following lines, which may be those of Barbeau-Dubourg:

Il a ravi le feu des Cieux  
Il fait fleurir les Arts en des Climates sauvages  
L'Amérique le place à la tête des Sages  
La Grèce l'auroit mis au nombre de ses Dieux.

Voilà donc le bill passé contre la ville de Boston. il me paroît que my lord North est un homme d'esprit mais de bien peu de sens, qui ne prévoit pas combien il fera de tort à sa patrie par une si fausse démarche qu'il lui fait faire. non seulement il y a autant à perdre pour l'Angleterre même que pour ses Colonies à l'interruption du commerce de cette ville; mais si les Américains continuent à être aussi unis et aussi sages qu'ils ont été jusqu'icy, ils se mettront bientôt en état de braver tous les efforts de la Métropole, et quand même on réussiroit à semer la dissension parmi eux, cela n'aboutiroit qu'à retarder un événement que la grande Bretagne doit regarder comme inévitable, si elle même ne change son plan, à quoi je ne vois aucune apparence. il semble que le Ciel ait voulu sur elle.

Répandre cet esprit d'imprudence et d'erreur.

De la chute des Rois funeste avant coureur. *Rac.*

J'écris par la voye de M. Macquart au Dr. Lettsom, pour le prier de nous donner des nouvelles de son Cousin M. Pickering qui s'étoit chargé d'un paquet pour vous.

Quant à l'électricité, je n'ai rien de nouveau à vous mander. Mais il me revient dans ce moment une idée au sujet de vos mouches noyées en Amérique dans du vin de Madère et ressuscitées à Londres. croyez vous que cette expérience pût réussir également sur les abeilles, et jusqu'à quel point, car ce seroit une voye bien œconomique pour en faire venir de loin.

Recevez mille amitiés de ma femme, de Mlle. Biheron, de MM. Dalibard, de Beaumont, Du Pont, de Lor, &c. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

A Paris 16<sup>e</sup> avril 1774

(17 avril.) Je viens de recevoir par le canal de M. Le Roy le discours de M. Pringle à la société royale du 30<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> dernier, que je m'en vais lire immédiatement et sûrement avec grand plaisir, mais il faut que ma lettre parte auparavant. je vous supplie de lui en faire mes justes remerciemens.

Je rouvre ma lettre pour vous dire que M<sup>r</sup> de Lore que je viens de rencontrer et qui vous salue, n'a point du tout été surpris de l'expérience de M<sup>r</sup> Walsh, qui n'étoit point nouvelle pour lui, et ne paroitra nouvelle à aucun Physicien qui se soit exercé à faire des baromètres lumineux, le succès dépendant absolument du vide imparfait, et manquant constamment dans le vide parfait.

Apropos de M. Walsh, quand nous donnera-t-il le détail de ses expériences sur la torpille?

A PARIS ce 22<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> 1774.

Mon cher Maître: — Votre lettre du 10<sup>e</sup> août m'a pénétré l'âme du plus délicieux sentiment, en me montrant de quelle façon la mienne du 28<sup>e</sup> juillet vous avoit affecté. c'est un nouvel aiguillon pour me presser d'exécuter mon projet d'un petit voyage à Londres; cependant ma grande affaire n'est point encore terminée, peut-être le sera-t-elle sous huit jours, peut-être durera-t-elle encore six semaines de plus, mais le dénouement en est sûr désormais; et dès que j'en serai débarrassée, j'aurais bientôt fait mon paquet pour partir et me rendre auprès de vous. M. Magalhaens m'a non seulement fait espérer que je vous trouverois encore en Angleterre, mais il m'a laissé entrevoir une lueur d'espérance que vous pourriez faire un tour à Paris cet hiver, plust à Dieu que nous eussions la satisfaction de vous y posséder encore une fois! et en effet je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez pesé mûrement toutes les circonstances de votre présente situation; je ne suis pas à portée de tout combiner à cet égard, mais à vue de pays, voicy ce qui m'ensemble. Votre départ pour l'Amérique dans ce moment de crise donneroit beaucoup d'ombrage au gouvernement Britannique, et qui sait ce qu'ils ne seroient pas capables d'attenter? votre séjour à Londres ne leur plait peut-être guères davantage, et peut d'ailleurs vous exposer à des mauvaises humeurs d'une populace effrénée, qui s'emporte souvent et sait rarement pourquoi si le même peuple en France est appelé briseraison, en Angleterre il pourroit s'appeler brise-tout; avec la notre il n'y a rien à craindre, vis à vis du votre il n'y a point à rire. venez donc, cher Ami, laisser passer l'orage, Sat Patriae, Priamoque. Jamais la France n'a été si tranquille, ni n'a paru mieux fondée dans ses esperances d'un heureux avenir. Notre nouveau Contrôleur général, M. Turgot, avec des vertus et des lumières, a la confiance du Roi et du public. un arrêt du conseil dressé sur un moule bien différent des précédens nous a donné (hier) la liberté la plus complète du commerce des bleds dans l'intérieur du royaume, et annoncé le pleine et indéfinie liberté de ce commerce même à l'extérieur comme assez prochaine. la liberté de la presse est presque entièrement rétablie, ou n'en excepte que les matières de religion sur lesquelles il faut se taire, et laisser la superstition s'éteindre d'elle même.

Je me propose de porter aujourd'huy à la censure, un petit prospectus d'une suite de papiers plus ou moins nombreuse et frequente, sans assujétissement formet, sous le titre de: *Le Correspondant de Philadelphie*. Il ne vous sera pas difficile de deviner sur le titre seul que vous même avez fait mes premiers fonds pour

cette entreprise et êtes ma principale ressource pour la remplir. Si vous étiez icy pour l'acheminer, et l'animer, je serois bien plus assuré du succès. j'y annonce une grande variété et une certaine abondance de nouveautés politiques et littéraires de l'Amérique, et spécialement de Philadelphie que je mets en parallèle avec Paris, mais j'ai peur que vous ne trouviez le parallèle un peu foible.

J'ai fait harceler inutilement jusqu'icy M. Stanley, non seulement par M. La Roi, mais encore par une de ses Cousines qui se flatte d'en venir à bout.

Ma femme et ses Amies ne sont pas moins impatientes que moi de vous embrasser, Monsieur et cher Ami. soyez bien assuré qu'on ne sauroit être plus parfaitement. Votre très fidèle et très affectionné serviteur.

DUBOURG.

Mes respects s. v. p. à Mr. Pringle.

A PARIS ce 10<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> 1774.

J'ai reçu, Mon cher Maitre, vos deux chères petites lettres du 21<sup>e</sup> août et 4<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> et dans celle cy une petite feuille du journal de Pensylvanie que m'a fait le plus grand plaisir, et que je tacherai qui ne soit pas perdre pour ce pays cy. Je vous prie, lorsque, vous avez quelques papiers semblables, ou autre dont il vous plaira de me régaler, de vouloir me les adresser. To Dr. B. D. at the Abbot Baudeau, et d'ajouter une enveloppe extérieure (ou chemise) à Monseigneur, Monseigneur Turgot, Ministre d'Etat et Contrôleur général des finances, à Paris. au moyen de cela tous vos paquets me parviendront francs de port, grands ou petits, fût-ce des volumes entiers.

Je serai bien enchanté de recevoir icy Monsieur votre Neveu, et comblé de joye si je puis l'accompagner à son retour en Angleterre; j'espère le pouvoir au commencement de décembre. Je n'ai encore joui qu'un moment de M. Le Dr. Priestley, mais je tâcherai de le joindre un peu plus à mon aise, et de profiter autant qu'il sera en moy de l'occasion de cultiver la connoissance d'un homme d'un si grand mérite, dont j'ai lu les expériences sur les différentes sortes d'air avec une satisfaction singulière.

Votre petit mémoire sur les effets de l'huile pour aplanir les vagues de la mer est traduite, j'en ai relu la traduction, et le traducteur devoit me la rapporter avec quelques parties retouchés. je l'attens et j'ignore où il loge.

Apropos de cela, confrontez je vous prie dans Pline, ce qu'il

dit de l'usage du vinaigre avec ce que vous en avez cité de mémoire, vous y trouverez une différence notable. de son tems on jettoit en l'air du vinaigre, non pour appaiser les tempêtes, mais pour dissiper les typhons ou les trombes. si donc il vous arrivoit de vous retrouver à portée d'une seconde trombe en Maryland ou ailleurs, je vous proposerais de l'arroser de vinaigre, au lieu de la fustiger avec votre fouet, pour voir si elle seroit plus sensible à l'un qu'à l'autre.

Toutes les traverses domestiques que j'ai prouvées des [torn] quelques années ont prit fin, moyennant un sacrifice [torn] considérable; et tout sera consommé à cet égard d'icy au commencement de décembre.

Ma femme et ses bonnes Amies vous présentent leurs civilités et vous embrassent à l'envi l'une de l'autre.

Mes respectueux complimens, s'il vous plait, à M. Pringle. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

DUBOURG.

A PARIS ce 13 J<sup>r</sup> 1775.

Mon cher Maitre: — Il y a longtems que je n'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire j'en suis honteux. lors du départ du Mrs. Magellan et Priestley, j'avois une lettre prête à fermer lorsqu'on m'annonça pour le jour même de la part la M. Le Roy que son parent m'apporteroit les 8 Louis qu'il vous doit. je l'attendis vainement et je passay chez M. Magellan 2 heurs après son départ. depuis ce tems ce même homme m'a fait réitérer de semaine en semaine la même promesse, et ne la point encore tenu. quoiqu'une de ses parentes le lutine presque sans cesse sur cela. Votre belle expérience de l'huile versée sur les flots a trouvé icy quantité d'incrédules, mais d'un autre côté plusieurs marins y ont rendu des témoignages favorables, d'après des faits analogues à eux bien connus; cependant je n'ai point appris qu'aucun de nos Physiciens, se soit attaché à les vérifier jusqu'à ce jour. Vous savez sans doute ce que Mr. Allamand a fait sur cela en Hollande, et avec quel succès l'heureux pratique des matelots de Scheveling me persuade de plus en plus que l'idée qui est venue à un marin de ma connoissance en de Billy est parfaitement bien conçue. il voudroit que quand deux vaisseaux se rencontrent en mer, et veulent se communiquer quelque chose par leurs canots, on jettat du vaisseau qui a le dessus du vent un peu d'huile dans l'espèce de canal intermédiaire pour applanir les lames et faciliter l'arbordage du canot à l'autre vaisseau, où la lame brise le plus fort du l'ordinaire.

J'ai reçu deux lettres bien intéressantes du Dr. Rush l'une de 8<sup>bre</sup> et l'autre de 9<sup>bre</sup> qui ajoutées aux divers autres bons matériaux que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer, m'ont mis en état d'entamer le projet qui me rouloit depuis assez longtems par la tête de faire une sorte d'ouvrage périodique fondé sur la correspondance de l'un à l'autre continent. je me suis décidé à donner successivement au public des lettres que je m'adresse sous le nom d'un Trembleur de Philadelphie actuellement à Londres, et où parant mon trembleur de vos plumes et d'elles de vos amis, et y mettant par cy par là du mien, tant pour les transitions que pour la variété. je traite librement de toutes sortes de sujets sans trop me compromettre. La 1<sup>e</sup> de ces prétendues lettres de Samuel Jone est datée du 5<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> dernier, la 2<sup>e</sup> du 8<sup>e</sup>. La 3<sup>e</sup> du 12. quoique je n'aye commencé qu'en 9<sup>bre</sup> j'en fais trois par semaine au lieu de deux, jusqu'à ce que je sois au courant de mes dattes des lundis et des jeudis. J'en ai lu plusieurs à divers amis de différens état et de différens goûts, qui tous m'ont paru les trouver piquantes. j'ai demandé une approbation pour les faire imprimer et le Censeur royal que l'on m'a donné m'a laissé passer sans difficulté les choses les plus hardis sur le compte du Clergé, sur quoi je n'aurois pas osé en dire la moitié tant il y a un an; il m'a rayé quelques mots qui pourroient ne pas plaire à nos Magistrats, mais dont je me suis départe sans peine. à ce moyen je compte mettre le 1<sup>er</sup> recueil sous presse dans le courant de ce mois, et en faire distribuer le 1<sup>er</sup> cayer le 1<sup>er</sup> lundi de mars. chaque cayer de 3 feuilles in 12, et cinq cayers faisant le volume je compte en répandre un petit prospectus le plus tôt possible et vous en adresser quelques exemplaires pour vos amis. mais il ne faut pas m'abandonner à mes seules forces, cher Ami, je fournirois mal cette carrière, si vous ne m'y souteniez. Samuel Jone me le fait espérer des ses 1<sup>eres</sup> lettres. tout y est à votre gloire et bien peu de choses mon honneur.

Vous trouverez dans la 1<sup>er</sup> lettre un parallèle de Philadelphie et de Paris dont on a été content icy, quoiqu'il ne flatte pas trop ma patrie. j'espère qu'il ne vous déplaie point. Vous verrez que le Parlement Britannique n'est pas menagé dans la 4<sup>e</sup>. mais vous verrez où j'ai puisé les traits dont je le peins. vous en verrez qui sont de mon cru en totalité sur les assassins de no(?) sur le despotisme, &c., mais je crains bien que vous ne les trouviez les plus foibles. [*incomplete.*]

A PARIS ce 19 Mars 1775.

Monsieur et cheri Maitre: — Votre dernière lettre m'ayant été remise par M<sup>r</sup> Williams m'a fait un plaisir singulier. L'avantage qu'il a de vous appartenir de si près formoit un préjugé bien favorable pour lui, sa physiognomie ne prévient pas moins en sa faveur, les qualités de son esprit et la douceur de ses mœurs y répondent parfaitement. il se fait aimer généralement icy des hommes et des femmes, qui le prendroient volontiers pour un françois. nous désirons de le posséder longtems, et n'en jouirons jamais tant que nous le voudrions. nous avons été très flattés qu'il ait bien voulu se loger à portée de notre quartier. puissions nous vous y tenir également et fallut-il donner congé à tous nos locataires pour vous offrir un appartement commode chez nous.

J'ai fait donner un coup d'aiguillon à M. Stanley pour M. Le Roy qui n'y a pas été insensible, en le prevenant que vous ne laisseriez pas sa pendule en Europe. si vous repartiez pour l'Amérique, comme cela pouvoit arriver au 1<sup>er</sup> jour, et quelle seroit censée tout à fait à vous pour vos 8 guinées. j'espère qu'il fera les derniers efforts pour terminer cette affaire dont il devoit mourir de confusion.

On débite icy divers bruits au sujet des différens de votre Métropole avec ses Colonies. s'il est vrai que le Ministère propose que l'Amérique se taxe elle même suivant la proportion une fois réglée par le parlement de Londres, c'est à dire que telle somme qui fût accordée annuellement au Roy, l'Angleterre en fournit tant de sols pour livre, l'Irlande tant et l'Amérique tant, il me semble que vous pourriez d'autant mieux l'accepter que les richesses de l'Angleterre et Ecosse ne peuvent que diminuer et celles de toutes vos Colonies ne peuvent que s'accroître, et que malgré cela la taxe des uns ne pourroit être aggravée sans aggraver pareillement le fardeau des autres.

Mes lettres sous le nom d'un Trembleur, quoique approuvées par le Censeur royal ont été absolument supprimées par la Garde des sceaux; aussi je ne puis les faire imprimer comme je me le proposois. tous les matériaux n'en seront peut-être pas perdus, mais je ne sais quand ni comment j'en pourrai faire usage. cela me fâche un peu.

Soyez, je vous prie, bien persuadé de toute ma sensibilité à la parte que vous avez faite, et que je n'ai apprise que par le deuil que j'ai vu porter à M<sup>r</sup> votre Neveu.<sup>1</sup> il est bien triste de perdu la moitié de soi même à la veille pour ainsi dire d'une réunion après une longue absence.

<sup>1</sup> Franklin's wife, Deborah (Read) Franklin, died in December, 1774.

J'ai toujours de nouvelles actions de grâces à vous rendre. la plupart de vos pamphlets sont très intéressans, et votre nouvelle édition sera l'honneur de ma petite bibliothèque.

Recevez mille tendres complimens de ma femme, de Mlles. Biheron, Basseport, &c.

Voulez vous bien vous charger de mes remerciemens et de mes respects pour Mr. Pringle dont le discours à l'occasion de prix accordé par votre Société royale vaut au moins l'ouvrage même qu'elle a couronné; je crois cependant que l'on a bien fait de déferer cet honneur à M. Walsh pour encourager les riches amateurs des sciences à faire un aussi digne usage de leur opulence. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

Je ne vous dirai rien de Mlle. Biheron qui a l'honneur de vous écrire elle même, et qui aime autant à peu près que moi à s'entretenir de vous. Mais je vous proteste que ma femme est si éprise de la même passion pour vous que nos Prêtres et nos Moines perdent tous les jours de leur crédit sur son esprit, cecy soit pourtant dit entre nous sous le secret. il est certain que si sa santé étoit plus firme, elle se laisseroit volontiers mener à Londres pour vous embrasser encore une fois, aussi bien que M. Pringle qu'elle honore aussi très particulièrement. Pour moi je redoute le printemps prochain plus que l'on n'a jamais redouté la saison des frimats; et de tems en tems je ne berce de la douce espérance qu'un plus long séjour de votre part à Londres pourra être nécessaire à vos Compatriots et qu'ils vous y retiendront, et que vous repasserez encore une fois le pas de Calais. Dieu le veuille, et me fournir l'occasion de vous témoigner efficacement combien je vous suis parfaitement et inviolablement attaché, Monsieur, etc.

#### FRANKLIN TO WILLIAM HODGSON <sup>1</sup>

Passy April 26, 1782.

SIR, — I duly received Your several favors of September 4th and 18th, and 30th October which sundry Circumstances prevented my answering regularly, but I took Care to order the needful into Your Hands by a Credit of £400.15 Sterling, which I suppose You have received.

Mr. Witherspoon has been with me and has repaid the 20 Guineas You advanced to him. I give You a great deal of

<sup>1</sup> From the Public Record Office, London, through the courtesy of Prof. Guernsey Jones, of the University of Nebraska.

trouble, at present I can only thank You and that never sufficiently. Curson and Gouverneur have by a Letter to me acknowledged Your kind Care in finding them out and making them the Offer of Money. they had not then occasion, but still if they should have occasion for it hereafter, I request You would furnish them, not for their Subsistence only, but for any other important Use in defending themselves and obtaining their Liberty. I inclose a Letter for them.

The Affair of exchanging Captain Manley against Major Cowley perplexed me a little. I spoke to the Minister about it and tho' Cowley was not a Prisoner to the Americans he made no Objection on that Account: but I did not press the Affair, because I have found that particular Changes by favor, before their Turns tho' they oblige particular Persons, are grievous to all the rest, who are offended with such Partiality and think themselves slighted and injured by such preference. I honor Capt: Manley and should be glad to serve him and indeed all the rest. Perhaps You can get him sent over among the 53 You mention. If this is done by Your Management it will not be so offensive as if by mine. Cowley has his Parole. I will get up and return the Engagement entered into by the People taken in the Snake Sloop, or send a Discharge from it as soon as they arrive.

Our late Success in Virginia gives Us the Disposition of a great many Prisoners, and as it may occasion Men to be more wanted there in Your Service I would make a Proposal thro' You to the Comm'rs, which is, that if they will send me over hither all the American Prisoners they possess, I will give an Acknowledgement of receiving them, and engage that an equal number of English shall be delivered for them in America, Soldiers or Sailors, or both, for the Men You have are mixed, a part of them only being Sailors, Our Privateers having many Land Men, or if it should be apprehended that Our People delivered here may be used in Europe against You, and that should be thought more inconvenient, then I would propose that they should be sent home in Your Ships and exchanged there by Your Admirals or Generals. Some Circumstances of Kindness to them at their Departure from England, shewing a change of Disposition towards Us, might have a good effect on the Minds of their Countrymen, and tend to promote the good Work of Peace. Please to let me know Your Sentiments on these Propositions, and the Sentiments of the Board if they think fit to give them. I know there has been as You observe a great many Prisoners

released from Spain, but I have never been able to obtain any Account of them, if the Comm'rs have I am persuaded they will credit Us with them. There are I believe a few English Prisoners still in France that were taken by American Privateers, but I have no Account of them from the Ports. I suppose they are sent over from time to time in the Cartels. There were 17 left at l'Orient, last Spring brought in by Our Frigate the Alliance. It is long since I heard any thing of them. I imagine they were sent over, and that as We were in debt to the Commissioners they have given Us Credit for them and the rest. I shall be glad to know how the Account stands at present.

I wrote to You some time since, requesting that the Prisoners may be allowed 1 / per week from the Middle of November to the middle of March. I have received a Letter from sundry Americans in Deal Prison viz: Robert Small-peece Junr: Allen Ord, Ephraim Wales, John Parker, Caleb Miller, Jesse Breed, Edward Hopper, and Amos Easterbrooks. Permit me to recommend these Men also to Your kind Care and to the same allowance. Does not the Rev: Mr. Denward live at Deal? Perhaps he would be Your Administrator.

I mentioned above that partial favor shewn to Particulars would be better from another than from me, there are some whom I should wish to favor if I durst, as their Circumstances or Merit seem to claim it: but I cannot well do for one, however he may merit it, what I should be under necessity of refusing to many, from want of Cash as well as of Orders, I would therefore request of the good and charitable Friends at Portsmouth and Plymouth who take the Pains of the Distribution, that where particular Circumstances make it appear to them proper, they would sometimes favor certain Persons in some unknown name concealing the Source from whence it springs. There are Capt. Manley, Silas Talbot and Zepheniah Hatch, who have written to me: I cannot comply with their Demands without drawing a vast many others upon my back, and I have not answered their Letters; but I wish some Addition may now and then be made to their Allowance, tho' not as from me.

I inclose Our last Gazette, by which You will see that General Burgoyne has now a Companion in Misfortune. This World is full of Changes and of Chances. War in particular abounds with them. The present I think has done Mischief enough. When will Your Rulers be of the same Opinion? I am with others empowered to treat of Peace and for the sake of Humanity I heartily wish it, but I draw near the end of Life. I hardly expect

that in my time there will be any use made of Our Commission.

With the greatest and most sincere Esteem, I am etc.

B: FRANKLIN.

I desire You would charge [me] with the Postage of this and all other Packets and Letters that pass between Us.

PASSY April 26. 1782.

DEAR SIR,—Your two Favours of the 9th Instant came to my hands but a few days since. I had written so fully to you by the preceeding Post, sending at the same time the Passports and Powers you had demanded, which I hope will be sufficient, that I find little left to answer.

I am much pleased with the memorial you presented respecting the Prisoners, and thank you heartily for the Pains you have so kindly taken in that affair.

As to the Expence to the Transports and Provisions, I would just remark, that a great Number of our People, made Prisoners in America, instead of being exchanged there, were cruelly and unnecessarily sent by Admiral Rodney to England in Irons, and pack'd together in the unwholesome Holds of the Ships, which kill'd many. The Provisions for those taken in these Seas, should, I think in Justice be compensated by an equal Quantity delivered in America to the Prisoners we shall give in Exchange to be returned in Europe. The Transport Vessels would perhaps go in their Ballast, as they will be wanted probably in America to receive the exchanged Men, or to remove their Garrisons; and if your Government will accept my first Proposition, and deliver our men to me here, I would save it the Expence of hiring Ships for transporting them to America, as I could easily find the Means of doing it in our own or French Ships.

Having mentioned these Ideas, I confide the whole Transaction to your Judgment and Equity, and shall be satisfied with any Agreement you make, for I know you will do what is right and obtain for us every advantage we ought to expect. Lord Shelburne's intended Kindness to the Prisoners, so as to render their Voyage comfortable, gives me great Pleasure, not so much on Account of an Expence to be saved by that means, but because I know it will have an excellent Effect in America, by its Tendency to *conciliate*; which I think a material Point that merits the attention of both Sides at present: for a Peace may be made by merely agreeing to cease fighting; and that may be without *Reconciliation*; in which Case the Peace will be less advantageous and of a short

Duration. Whatever Allowance his Lordship makes for the Purpose above mentioned to the Prisoners in England, I suppose he will extend also to those in Ireland. If not, I request you will desire your Friends at Kinsale to furnish it, and I will pay the Account upon Sight. Be so good as to present my best Respects and Thanks to his Lordship, for this Instance of his Humanity and Benevolence towards our poor People, and assure him I shall always retain a gratefull Sense of it.

With great Esteem I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, etc., etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

Mr. Charles Moore of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, sends a copy of a letter from

H. W. LONGFELLOW TO PELEG SPRAGUE

BOWDOIN COLLEGE, Feb'y. 23<sup>rd</sup> 1834.

PHIL'A., April 7, 1841.

Hon. Peleg Sprague

DEAR SIR — I must apologize for troubling you with a letter at a time when you are so much engaged as at the present moment. I certainly should not do so, were it not in behalf of a friend, and upon business which, in a certain sense, is of a public nature.

I see by the papers that four American artists are to be employed to execute paintings, upon national subjects, for four vacant panels in the Rotunda of the Capitol. A very intimate friend of mine, Mr. George Cooke of New York, is very desirous of this opportunity to distinguish himself. He already enjoys a high reputation as a portrait and landscape painter, and I have every reason to believe that he will become equally celebrated in historic painting.<sup>1</sup>

I passed nearly a year with Mr. Cooke in Italy, and I can bear witness to his ardent and assiduous application in his profession. He passed, I think, four years in Europe, and returns home, full of zeal and enthusiasm for his art, and burning to distinguish himself by some great work. His age cannot be far from thirty-five, so that he is in his prime — a man of fine powers and long experience. His style of painting is exceedingly finished and beautiful, and his coloring very excellent.

I believe our Representative, Mr. Jarvis,<sup>2</sup> is one of the Committee to whom this subject is referred.

<sup>1</sup> He was born in St. Mary County, Md., March 11, 1793, studied art in Europe, 1826-1830, and settled in New York on his return to the United States.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard Jarvis (1781-1854).

If you should have leisure to speak with him, I must beg of you to mention Mr. Cooke, as a man who would not be likely to disappoint the expectations of the Committee.

Will you excuse me, Sir, if having thus far pleaded the cause of my friend, I take the liberty of asking a favor for myself? From reasons, which I need not here mention, I have become desirous of leaving Brunswick. My ardent desire is, to obtain an appointment as Secretary of Legation in some foreign Embassy; but this I suppose is impossible at the present moment. I have no friends in power under the present Administration; though I hope hereafter to procure such a situation. *En attendant* a gentleman from Virginia — a friend who is much interested in my success in life — informs me that in all probability I should be able to procure the professorship Mod. Lang. in the University of Va.

I have requested Mr. Cooke, who is acquainted with Mr. Rives, Senator from Va., to write to him upon the subject, to see if there is a vacancy.

If you will ask Mr. Rives (who is one of the Gov<sup>rs</sup> of the University) what the state of the institution is, and what the salaries or requisites of the professors are, you will do me a great favor.

I hope, Sir, you will not think I have presumed too far in this letter. I should not have written, were not the subject of much importance to me, and I will request you, in conclusion, not to put yourself to any inconvenience in these matters, but let them wait your leisure. I am, Sir, very respectfully, Your Ob<sup>t</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. A. FORBES, E. W. EMERSON, and F. C. SHATTUCK.

# MEMOIR

## OF

### HAROLD CLARENCE ERNST

By JOHN WOODFORD FARLOW

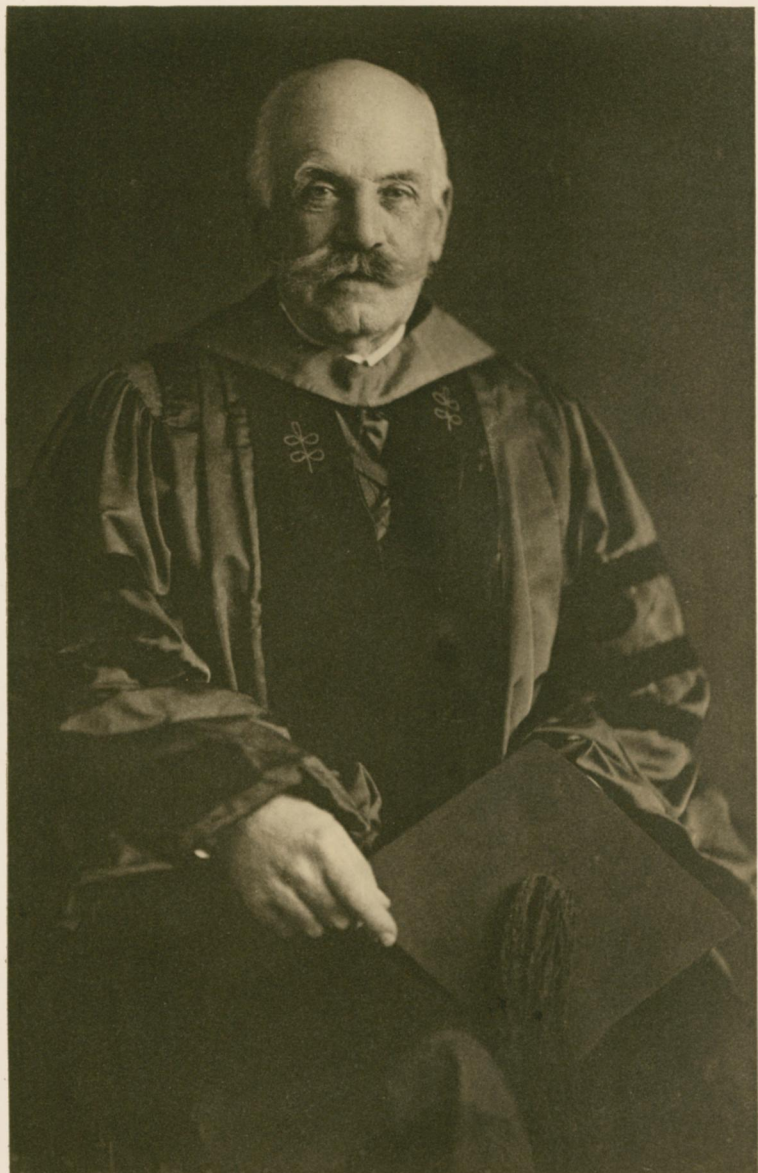
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Harold Clarence Ernst, whose death occurred on September, 7, 1922, at the Jordan Hospital, Plymouth, Mass., was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, July 31, 1855.

His grandfather came to this country from Germany during the wars with Napoleon. As the chief man in a small village, he was ordered to levy a tax, or tribute, on the inhabitants, which he regarded as so unjust that he refused to obey, and escaped with his family during the night to a neighboring seaport, whence he sailed for the United States. He regarded the Germans as cravens in their attitude toward Napoleon, and never allowed German to be spoken in his family except to his wife, who seemed unable to learn English sufficiently well to speak it. This vigorous, independent opposition to injustice may well have had an hereditary influence in producing in the grandson Dr. Ernst's well-known courage in facing obstacles and his devotion to high principles.

His father, Andrew Henry Ernst, was a successful business man in Cincinnati, much interested in horticulture, especially the growing of apples, and was one of the founders of the Horticultural Society of Ohio. His mother, Sarah H. Otis, was a very able, public-spirited woman, a great worker in the civil war, an abolitionist, and a pioneer advocate of woman's suffrage. The Ernst house in Cincinnati was one of the underground stations for escaping slaves, and seems to have been visited by many of the prominent men and women of the day.

Harold was graduated from Harvard in 1876 with the



MS

Harold C. Eust.

degree of A.B. and from the Medical School with his M.D. in 1880. He received the degree of A.M. in 1884. After a graduate course and hospital service, he settled in Jamaica Plain, his home until his death. In 1883 he married Ellen Lunt Frothingham, of Boston. In addition to private practice, he held the position of physician to out-patients at the Massachusetts General Hospital for twelve years, until 1900.

The years of his medical school studies were those in which many of the great discoveries of Pasteur, Lister and Koch were given to the world, and under this influence Dr. Ernst became a persevering and enthusiastic worker with the microscope in the study of bacteria, about which little was known at that time in this country. He began his special studies at the old medical school on North Grove Street, in a sort of closet in the Warren Museum, meeting with little encouragement and much opposition on account of the ignorance of the medical profession on the important relations between bacteria and medical and surgical diseases. He made two trips to Europe to learn about Koch's discovery of the bacilli of tuberculosis and studied in Koch's laboratory the use of tuberculin, of which he brought home a supply. Although never a student of Pasteur, he kept in close touch with everything that emanated from the investigations of one whose work he considered as contributing the most to the progress of medical science.

Beginning as assistant in 1885, Dr. Ernst slowly but steadily advanced through the grades of demonstrator, instructor, assistant professor, until, in 1895, he was made professor of bacteriology, a position he held until the year of his death. The six lectures that he gave in 1885 were the first lectures on bacteriology given in this country, that is, as a part of a medical course by a special teacher. Since that time a generation of students has passed under his instruction, spreading among the profession and the public the knowledge of the great service that bacteriology has rendered to the world. The growth of his department from the primitive quarters in 1885 to the splendidly equipped laboratories and lecture rooms in the buildings on Longwood Avenue is proof that it is receiving the recognition he had worked so hard for years to obtain for it. It must have been pleasing to him that the

new street leading from the parkway to the medical school received the name of "Avenue Louis Pasteur."

Dr. Ernst was one of the early investigators of tuberculosis in cows and the contagiousness of their milk, and he wrote much of value on these topics. He made all the tuberculin used by the City of Boston until the entire work was taken over by the State. The use of antitoxin and its clinical value in diphtheria occupied much of his time and thought, and all the diphtheria antitoxin available in Boston was made in his laboratory for a long time, the methods of preparation and the tests for purity and strength being worked out by him, in the face of much opposition and discouragement. The fact that he had been a practising physician with large clinical experience and was at the same time a trained bacteriologist made his scientific work of greater value, because, as Professor W. H. Welch, of Johns Hopkins Hospital, well says, "He had *practised* and knew how to *apply* the knowledge gained in the laboratory."

In its early days, bacteriology was much simpler than it is today, and it is questionable whether a physician could now continue to follow bacteriology as a profession and at the same time have a private practice and hospital service. Dr. Ernst must have worked hard to do this, but the time came, about 1895, when he was obliged to give up his private practice in order to devote himself to his scientific work.

An important service done in his laboratory was the successful employment of the methods of ultra-violet photomicrography and the improvement of the technic for its use in the rapid diagnosis of rabies. Through the kindness of Dr. Hamilton Osgood, in 1886, he received from Pasteur's laboratory two rabbits which had been inoculated with the virus of rabies, one by Pasteur himself, the other by his assistant. This material served as a source from which Dr. Ernst conducted a series of research experiments, in order that he might be ready, if called on later by the State, to supply the means for the treatment of the dreaded disease hydrophobia.

For some of the work which originated in his laboratory Dr. Ernst failed to receive due credit; for instance, when in

practice he prepared and used sterilized milk for his sick babies before this was done by anyone else, although the credit is generally given to those who learned it from him.

Dr. J. C. Warren has sent me an extract from an article that he wrote for the *Boston Transcript* of March 13, 1912, in which he stated that he received from Dr. Ernst suggestions about sterilizing surgical dressings and used with success in his clinic at the Massachusetts General Hospital an apparatus made for him by Dr. Ernst for this purpose before the publication of Lister's book advocating similar procedures was published.

In 1896 Dr. Ernst was made sole editor of the *Journal of Medical Research* and was still editor at the time of his death. This was a position that required much labor, great perseverance and power of discrimination in order to recognize what was of real value as research. The *Journal* has maintained its high standard and has an international reputation. He helped to form the Association of American Pathologists and Bacteriologists, and was its secretary from 1901 to 1917, except the year of his presidency. He was also a member of the Association of American Physicians.

At the dedication of the new Harvard Medical School in 1906, he was a much appreciated helper of Dr. Bowditch and Dr. Warren, and his great executive ability was freely called on. He edited for the occasion a most admirable history of the school and the dedication exercises.

For a number of years he appeared before committees of the legislature as a zealous advocate of high standards of medical education, of better registration laws, of the value of animal experimentation and vaccination, always in the face of determined opposition, as can be well understood; but this did not deter him. Whenever anything difficult was to be done, especially if great persistence and indomitable courage were necessary, Dr. Ernst was the one to call on.

In the recent war, he offered his services and was placed at the head of the Northeastern Division Laboratory work, with rank of major, all contagious diseases coming under his inspection. This position he held until the Government had equipped a special laboratory and the work was placed

in the hands of the regular army men. He had a strong, commanding figure and erect carriage, and his grey moustache gave him a distinguished, military look well in harmony with his uniform as major.

In college and in the medical school he was a noted baseball player, famous as one of the first to fathom the mystery of the curved pitched ball, which had been regarded by some scientific men as an impossibility. A recent article in one of the Boston papers<sup>1</sup> devoted nearly a page to his prowess as a pitcher and the credit that was due him for his work in developing the possibilities of what has become one of the special features of the great American game. He was also an ardent lover of golf and was on the team of the Brookline Country Club, an unusual record for a professor of bacteriology, who had to spend most of his time in the laboratory. At his summer home in Plymouth, he gloried in the out-of-doors life, the growing of beautiful pond lilies, the cultivation of fruit trees. He was a lover of books, and when not otherwise engaged, always had a book in his hand.

In November, 1920, Dr. Ernst was elected a member of this Society, and read the report of the committee to examine the library in April, 1921. In the room below us is his notable collection of sundials, many of them purchased in Japan twelve years ago, and shown at the special exhibitions of the Society in 1921 and 1922.

Dr. Ernst was an able man, of strong character, of great courage and devotion to high ideals. He had the type of mind that wanted everything to be right, and he was willing and ready to do more than his share in bringing this about. It is in harmony with his character that his book-plate should bear these words, "Ernst ist das Leben."

<sup>1</sup> *Boston Sunday Post*, September 10, 1922.